



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE TAKING OF THE EARL OF ORMONDE, A.D. 1600.

BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A.B., M.R.I.A.

"It was a wonderful newes all over Ireland that the Earl of Ormond should be detained in that manner"—so wrote the "Four Masters," not forty years after the event.¹ We can well imagine what a stir the tidings of the Earl's captivity made in many a walled town, and tall tower, and kern's camping place—how the widening circles spread from startled Kilkenny, where the stout burgers heard in blank amazement from the lips of the Lord President of Munster, and Donogh O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, that they had fled for their lives, and left the feared and powerful head of the Butlers, the favourite of Elizabeth, and commander of her Irish army, in the hands of a petty chieftain of Leinster, powerful, however, in his alliance with Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, the yet unconquered and dangerous leader of the northern Irish.

Essex, after a few ineffectual military promenades, and an injudicious truce with Tyrone, had quitted Ireland in disgust, to rush on his fate in the streets of London. Under pretence of a pilgrimage to Holy Cross Abbey,² Tyrone, who, in December, 1599, had informed the Irish Government of his intention to break the truce in fourteen days' time, left his northern fastnesses in January, 1600, and marched his forces towards Munster.³ From the heights of Slieve Bloom⁴ he swooped down on the plains of Ely, and wreaked his vengeance on the O'Carrolls, with whom he had a feud. From thence he passed by Ballaghmore and Roscrea to the "gate of the monastery"⁵ of Holy Cross, in Tipperary, where "the holy cross was brought out to shelter and protect him." O'Neill was here threatened by the forces under Ormonde; but no engagement having ensued, he passed on towards Cork; and on his return, after the mutually fatal encounter of Sir Warham St. Leger and Maguire, he left, according to Peter Lombard, some of his forces in Leix, to aid O'More,⁶ with whom he was in strict alliance.

Mountjoy, the destined tamer of the northern chieftain, had landed in Ireland with the authority of lord deputy, whilst O'Neill was paying his devotions at Holy Cross.⁷ He purposed to have met Tyrone on his return from Munster, but failed from want of accurate information, and in consequence of the speed of the movements of the Irish leader.⁸ In the meantime, whilst planning the masterly movement of establishing garrisons in the rear of O'Neill's

¹ "Four Masters," vol. vi., p. 2169.

² But really to confirm his friendship with his allies, and to wreak his vengeance upon his enemies. *Id.*, vol. vi., p. 2147.

³ Cox's "History of Ireland," part i., p. 422.

⁴ "Four Masters," vol. vi., p. 2147.

⁵ "Four Masters," vol. vi., p. 2149.

⁶ "De Regno Hiberniæ Commentarius." Lovanii, 1632, p. 436.

⁷ Cox's "History of Ireland," part i., p. 423.

⁸ Fynes Moryson's "Itinerary," part ii. book i., chap. ii., p. 62.

PORTRAITS OF IRISHMEN.—No. I.



"BLACK" THOMAS, TENTH EARL OF ORMONDE.

[From a Picture at Kilkenny Castle.]

country, whereby his power was ultimately broken,¹ Mountjoy had been visited in Dublin by Ormonde; and the Earl, who heads the Irish army list as Lieutenant-General of the Forces at £3 per diem,² left for Kilkenny about the beginning of April. On the 6th of that month Mountjoy advertised the English Government of his departure,³ insinuating an imputation on his faithfulness,⁴—how groundlessly, the documents now submitted to the Society amply prove. On the 7th, Sir George Carew left Dublin for the Presidency of Munster, to which he had been recently appointed, accompanied by one hundred horse, and by Donogh O'Brien, known to the Irish as Prince of Munster, to the English as Earl of Thomond. On the 9th, Carew and Thomond arrived at Kilkenny; and on the next day, having dined with the Earl of Ormonde, they were invited to accompany him to the parley he had arranged with Owny Mac Rory O'More. The result is best told in the words of the State Papers.

The Earl of Ormonde, at the time of his capture, was in his 68th year, having been born in 1532. He was called by the Irish, from his complexion, *dubh*, or "the black." The engraving which accompanies this paper is copied from a portrait in Kilkenny Castle, which was purchased by the late Marquis of Ormonde in London. The Earl is represented in the rich armour of the period, his tilting-helmet resting on a table behind him, and he carries an ornamented hand-gun. The arms on the shield not being impaled, the picture was probably painted before the Earl's marriage.⁵ The Society is indebted to Mr. Edmund Fitzpatrick, an artist whose pencil does credit to the county of Kilkenny, for the drawing from which the engraving (by an accident reversed on the block) has been made. The Marchioness of Ormonde, in the course of the last summer, purchased at an auction, in Derbyshire, another portrait of the Earl, of great interest: its pedigree, which I yet hope to give, proves its unquestionable authenticity. The picture represents the Earl in the prime of life, with dark hair, and dark brown beard. The face is fine, and full of character, and the costume is the usual civil garb of Elizabeth's reign. The Earl bears in his hand two wands. In the upper right-hand corner is a shield charged with the arms of Ormonde, impaling Sheffield, showing that it was painted after his marriage to Elizabeth, only daughter of John, second Lord Sheffield. This was the Countess mentioned in the following documents, and the mother of his sole surviving daughter and heir, Elizabeth Butler, mother to Elizabeth, first Duchess of Ormonde.

¹ Fynes Moryson's "Itinerary," part ii., book i., chap. ii., p. 62.

² *Id.*, p. 59.

³ *Id.*, p. 63.

⁴ Fynes Moryson's "Itinerary," part ii., book i., chap. ii., p. 63.

⁵ His first wife was a daughter of Lord Berkeley.

"State Paper Office, Irish Correspondence, 1600.

"MOUNTJOY to CECYLL.

"SIR,—Att twellve off the clock this last nyght I receaved this letter I sende to you now; the winde beinge fayre butt this mornynge, I would not loose the opportunity to give notice off a matter off so great importance, the certaynty or manner I can nott yett examin; butt Godwillinge you shall shortly heere from me what I fynd is the truthe, and whatt I conceive off itt; for as I have had reason to conceive off his proceedings, I know not well whether this bee good or evell newse; and so S^r. in great hast I committ you to the tuition off the allmyghtye. Dublin 12 Aprill.

"Yours S^r. most assured to do you servis

"MOUNTJOYE.

[Superscribed]

"For Her Majesty's especiall affayres to the right honorable S^r. Robert Cecyll knight, principall Secretary to Her Majesty.

"At Dublin y^e 12 April, about
10 in y^e morning.

"MOUNTJOYE {
hast,
hast,
hast for
thy life.

[Indorsed] "1600, 12 Apr: L. Deputy to my Master with a letter of W^m. Hartpoole¹ mencynong the treacherous taking of the Earl of Ormond by Ony M^cRory. Received at London 18th."

"FENTON² to CECYLL.

"RIGHT HONORABLE,—I dowte not but manny will advertise the takinge of the Erle of Ormond by Owny M^cRory O'More, but of the manner of that accident, and what may be gathered of it, I thinke few or none can asyet sound the just depth. Touching the manner in generallitie, yt was thus, Therle beinge drawne to a meetinge with that roge under pretence of parley, and with numbers equall, was surprised by some secrett Ambuscado, laide for that purpos, his Lordship and three of his servants ledd prisoners into Leax; and two of his men slaine: other particularities are not asyet written hether, but by my next your honour shall have a more full report. Many things may be gathered of his takinge, wherein errors may be committed for that there is little as yet to ground a true opinion, other then conjecturall reasons, which are but weake, till tyme may give them strength. But to your honour I say, that whosoever hath precisely observed the Erle of Ormond in his warines by nature, and in his foresight by longe experience, must thinke yt straunge to see his Lordship overtaken by a younge wood-kearne, upon

¹ Hartpoole's letter, dated from Carlow, April 11th, is a mere announcement of the capture of the Earl.

² Sir Geoffrey Fenton was Principal Secretary of State in Ireland, or, as the office is sometimes styled, Secretary of the Council.

occasion of a parley, wherein his Lordships providence at other tymes hath bin rare, and above the warynes of all other men, that I have knowen treatinge in the lyke cases. The Lord Deputy and Counsell are now in hand to send forces to Kilkenny, both to assure the countess and her daughter, and to stopp other violences, that may breake owt upon this alteration. I know there are sondry of the Butlers, who seeinge that therles daughter is thonely block in their way, to aspire to greate thinges, may in this captivitie of the father, attempt some danger to the childe, for prevention whereof, and to give consolation to the mother, I thinke the state will send for them both to come hether, yf the countess shall not thinke her self sufficiently secured in the Castle of Kilkenny, by the forces assigned for that purposse. But howsoever the Countess either thorow weaknes in body, or for sorrow of her husbands misery, or in a worldly care, not to leave Kilkenny, where resteth her wealth and substaunce, may forbear to come hether, yet I wish her daughter, upon whome do depend many interests for Her Majestie, were either with the state, or sent for into England owt of hand, A matter which I humbly wish were deliberated there, and Her Majesties direction sent hether withall possible speed.

"Some here make dowte that therle wilbe passed over by Owny M^cRory to the traitor Tyrone, who beinge the head of this great Rebellion, may seeke to draw therle into his hands, the better to worke his owne conditions. But I am not of minde, that Owny will lett go so great a prize to pleasure Tyrone, but rather will reserve him in his owne possession, to thend to make his deliverie profitable to himself, and some of his other principall confederats in Leinster. This is all I cann write to your honour of this matter asyet, the passage beinge ready to departe presentlie, onely I see an honorable industry in the Lord Deputie to do all he cann to stay all further disorders which may breake owt, and to give succour and comforte to the sorrowfull Lady; to which end his Lordship meaneth tomorrow to send up Sir George Bouchier and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, as two persons thought most meet for such a purposse. In great hast. At Dublin 12 Aprilis 1600.

"Your honours most humbly to be commanded

"Geff. FENTON

[Superscribed]

"To the Right Honorable S^t. Rob^t. Cecyll, knight principall Secretary to Her Majestie and Master of the Wards and Liveries.

"At Court. hast hast.

[Indorsed] "The Earle of Ormond
most treacherously taken by Ony
M^cRory O'Moore.

"R. at London 18th."

"MOUNTJOY to CECYLL.

"SIR,—Since the wryghtinge off my last letter, I have received this inclosed from my Lord Presidente; I have presently dispatched a messenger unto him, to desyre him to stay att Kilkennye till Monday, and to be

especially careful off the safty off my Lord off Ormond's dawter, on Monday nyght Sr. George Bowser [Bourchier] shalbe thear and bringe from me letters off comferte to my Ladye. I will give him instructions to tast the dispositions off the gentillmen off those partes because as I hear he is best acquaynted with them,¹ and with him I will sende soome companys off foote and as many horse as I can spare to assur Killkeny and thos partes: I thinke itt fitt to be sure off the Earles Dawter; butt if I should send for her from my lady, besyde the infinite greefe she would conceave with itt, I know nott whatt effect itt would worke, and iff I should sende for my Ladye to come hither for her safty with her dawter, they say shee is nott able to travell;² I will secure this poynte as well as I can till I heere the Queens plesure in this case, beeinge off great importance; I would be lothe on the sodayne to give my opinion off this accidente; butt itt seemeth strange to mee thatt one so full off regarde to himsellfe in all his proceedings should be so easely overtaken; he did never acquaynte mee with any purpose he had to treate with Ony Mack Rurye; butt the first newse I herde off any purposs off his to thatt effect was by the relation off this accident. I am glad my Lord Presidente escaped so well: and iff itt please God the Queenes army stande in harte as now itt is, the greatest hurte thatt will arise by this mischance or practize, whatsoever itt be, wilbe butt the divertynge off som few off the Queenes forces to be employed in thos partes; butt iff the Butlers declare themsellves, after Lough Foyle is planted and som garrisons left on the borders, iff the Presidente of Monster with parte off his forces meete me in Kilkenny wee will sonn cut off any hedds off danger thatt shall arise by this accidente; Sr itt is God thatt must do allthinges; but I can thinke off no other instrument, then an army kepte stronge and in harte for a tyme, and famyne amongst the rebbell; which no doubt will assuredly insue iff you keep us in strengthe and life, for itt is the army thatt must worke itt, and ridd the Queen shortly off this greate charge, iff you will inlardge itt for a while, which I do to no other end solícite continually, butt to rid the Queen speedily off this chardge and my sellfe off this burthen; and iff this be nott my purposs only I pray God nether to prosper mee in this worlde nor in the worlde to come

"Yours Sr"

"Moste assured to do you servis

"MOUNTIOYE

"12 April 1600

[Superscribed]

"To the right honorable Sr. Robert
Cecyl knight principall Secretary
to her Majesty.

[Indorsed] "Lord Deputy to my Master

"Received at London the 18th"

¹ Sir George Bourchier was nearly connected with the Countess of Ormonde (see p. 396, *infra*). Two of his children are buried in the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny. "History, &c. of St. Canice," p. 272.

² She was buried in the Cathedral of St. Canice, April 21st, 1601, and the ceremonial

of her funeral is preserved in Ulster's Office, Dublin Castle. Sir George Bourchier's eldest son, Thomas, carried the banner of her arms, as cousin to the defunct. She seems to have been in bad health at this time, and it is probable that the anxiety arising from her husband's captivity hastened her death.

"1600. April 12. CAREW to MOUNTJOY.

(*Extract.*)

"My former report concerning the Earl of Ormond was in every point true, saving onely that of our side there was only one man slaien, called Mr. Philip Comerford, a lawyer; and those which in my former letters were said to be slaien were but hurt; of the rebels there was likewise but one slaien with a pistoll. My Lord of Ormond in his taking, received no hurt; but his hatt, George, sword, and dagger were taken from him. After he was taken there fell strife among themselves, for some would have slaien him, and others endeavoured to save him, and one was hurt that did defend him. They sett him on an hackney, and that night carried him into Leix, six miles from the place he was taken. The traytor Aucher¹ was his bedfellow. Owny M^c Rory useth him well. All this I know by a letter from him to his Lady, wherein he praieth her that no forces may be drawn downe where he is, for fear, as he saith, of beeing killed.

"This trecherie was plotted by that priest Aucher, and of the conspiracie there was no more but Owny M^c Rory, Shane Oge M^c Gilpatrick, my Lord of Upperossieries nephew, Callogh M^c Walter, brothers soonne to Hugh Boy M^c Callogh, and four bonnages.

"My Lord of Thomond's wound in his backe is of no daunger, not above two inches deepe, and without any ill accident following; so as within theis foure dayes he wilbe able to ride.

"This day one of His Lordships servaunts came from him, who carried him his bed, and other necessaries, and a quantity of victuals, before whose coming, he wanted bread, dranke nothing but water, and but one

¹ i.e. James Archer, the Jesuit, a man foremost in all the movements against the English Government, and a special confidant and agent of O'Neill. One Atkinson deposed in 1603, when O'Neill was pardoned, and at the English Court, that Archer accompanied him—"in divers kinds of apparel, sometimes like a courtier, and otherwhile like a farmer, or chapman of the country. Him he well knew in Ireland, where he saw him as chief commander over the Irish troops of rebels, ... called, commonly, the Pope's Legate, and Arch-Priest over all others in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, and also the O'Neils; or of others called Tyrone's confessor, as he had been the arch Duke's confessor of Austria. Archer is in stature somewhat tall, black, and in visage long and thin, born in Kilkenny." "Journal," vol. i., new series, pp. 412, 413. P. O'Sullivan Bear says, that Archer aided

O'Neill first, then O'More, lastly O'Sullivan, with his counsel and support against the heretics; and that the English believed him to be possessed of miraculous powers, and called him not Archer but Archfiend. "Hist. Cath. Ibern. Compend." Dublinii, 1850, pp. 205-6. The gallant and obstinate defence of Dunboy Castle was chiefly owing to the exertions of Archer; but after its reduction and the subjugation of the O'Sullivans, he fled into Spain on the 5th of July, 1602. "Pacata Hibernia," cap. x.

The Archers were an old civic family of considerable wealth and importance in Kilkenny. One of their residences still stands in the High-street, with their arms (a chevron ermine between three pheons) on a panel in the wall, and the date 1582. It is at present occupied by Mrs. Shearman, who is bound by her lease to preserve the cut-stone chimneys, and the sculptured pannel, intact.

egg he could gett nothing to eate: the villains themselves are ready to starve for want.

"They remove him every night from one cabin to another, and he is yet in the custodie of the bonaghes,¹ for Owney M^e Rory dare not trust him in the keeping of anie Leinster men. His Lordship doth desire that there may be no plott sett downe for his recovery by force; for then he is sure to be slayen, Owney M^e Rorey protesting that himself wilbe his executioner.

"The Rebells have bene dealt with by his Lordship to know upon what conditions they will enlarge him, but of that they will not thinke, untill the pleasure of Tyrone, and the whole Parlament of raskalls be assembled.

"My Lord is desirous to remayne in Leinster, wherein he hath reason, for in Leix it self he is as much regarded as in this countrey [Kilkenny], and manie of those which were at his taking did wholly depend upon him; but not being acquainted with the treason durst not declare themselves.

"I sent for 600 foote from Waterford to this Towne, besides my horse; but my Lord of Ormond fearing lest it should provoke the rebels to deale more hardlie with him, desireth me to withdraw them, and to leave the countrey to his owne care.

"I wrote unto the Lord Montgarret, praying him (in respect he was my Lord's next cosen, and of great possessions in this countrey, and also for the especiall care I knew he had of the Queenes service) to come to Kilkenny; that I might advise with him what was best to be done in this tumultuous tyme. This daie he came within six miles of this Towne, sent his servant unto me to desire me that either I would speake with him where he was, or else that I would geve him my word for his safe return;² both which I denied, not for anie intention I know of his detaining, but for that I thought it dishonorable for him to make any such demand. His messenger replied that without my word he knew he would not come into the Towne. I told him I would not do his Lordship so great an injurie as to send him a protection to his dishonour, and to draw his obedience into question; with which aunswere his messenger departed."

"ORMONDE to CAREW.

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I hartely thanke you for the lovinge and kynde postscript sent in my Lord of Tomond's letter. I am in such case here as I cannot send or receive ought by letter or message but that they must bothe see and knowe the same. Wherefore I must reffer all your proceedinges to your Lordships grave and consyderate judgement wyslinge you should acquaynt my Lord Deputie how thinges fell out here, to whome I am not allowed to wryte as yet. Your Lordship maye be advysed by his Lordship seinge I cannot advyse you in partyculer, nor suffered to

¹ Bonnaghts were hired soldiers. Peter Lombard, a contemporary, says that Ormonde was committed to the custody of the soldiers O'Neill had left with O'More when marching

back to the north from Munster. "De Regno Hiberniæ Commentarius," pp. 436, &c.

² His sons were in rebellion at this time.

wryte what I would. I doubt nothings of your Lordships good will towards me, and wyshe you should not of myne in any thinge I may possyble. I praye you to procure that no meanes be made to rescue me for that my lyff stands upon it, tyll I maye knowe of One M^e Rory what pointe he will be at with me. And so wyshing you all prosperous succeſſe I commyt you to God. Gortneclhe¹ the 14th of April, 1600.

“Your Lordship’s moste unfortunate
and very assured to you

“THOMAS ORMOND & OSSORY.

[Indorsed in Carew’s hand] “The copie
of the Earl of Ormonds letter to the
president of Mounster.”

“THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND to THE ENGLISH COUNCIL.

(*Extract.*)

“May yt please your Lordships. Wee dowt not but yt wilbe grevous to your Lordships to understand the late unfortunate accident happened to the Earle of Ormond, who upone Thursday last the 9th of this moneth being at a parley with the traytor Owny M^e Rorie O More in the borders of Leix was there taken in hand by the said traytour, and his companie, and presently ledd away prisoner into their fastnes, the manner and circumstance of which trecherous action, Wee humbly leave to the letters, lately sent thether by me the Deputy, and to such others, as now come in this packett, being written by the Lord President of Mounster, who was presente upon the place, together with thearle of Thomond, and they both escaped with great difficulty and hazard of their lives, thearle of Thomond being hurte 2 or 3 inches into his backe with a pyke. Upon this dessaster, wee entred into conference, what was meete to be don for the securinge of Kilkenny, and stayeng of the contrey, and borders thereabowts, least some further violence might breake owt, to the endaungeringe of Her Majesties affairs: For, as wee considered how farr this sodden trecherous action might alter some of the Butlers, and make them and their followers stagger, when they saw thearle, who was the head and staie of them all, fallen into imprisonment, so likewaies weighing the great consequences and interests that depend upon the younge ladie his daughter, and how daungerous yt might be, yf in this broken tyme, she should be Imbeazoled or drawen into the hands of anie of the Irish, or, by anie contract of the father to redeem his liberty, to be promised in marriage to any of this contrey birth, such as the State shold not like of, shee being a person, upon whose ground in the case might be wrought manie

¹ Gortnaclea, a castle still standing close to the road leading from Aghavoe church to Abbeyleix, in the valley close to the bridge over the River Gully. (See Queen’s Co. Townland Survey, sheet 23.) It is a tall square tower, with arched floors, and belonged to

the Fitzpatricks, but was close to the borders of Leix. Shane Oge M^cGilpatrick, “my Lord of Upperosserie’s nephew,” was, it will be remembered, one of the few persons to whom O’More’s intention to take the Earl prisoner was confided. See p. 393, *supra*.

daungerous alterations, Wee thought best, as well for securing of the whole contrey, as for the saffety of the afflicted Countess, and her said daughter, to send an encrease of forces to those partes, and particularly to garde the Castle of Kilkenny, under the chardge of Sir George Bourchier, as a person most acceptable to the Earle, and the Countess, by reason of his allyaunce, and Auncient frindshipp with them both, to whom wee have given instructions in writinge, to be specially carefull of the Castle of Kilkenny, havinge for the gard thereof, fifty English soldiours, with their officers, Besides commissions of authority, to assemble the contrey for some courss of defence, duringe the calamity of thearle, and privat letters to the nobility and cheeff gentlemen of the Butlers to feele them how they stand affected, and to deale with them aparte to be as carefull to preserve the contrey, and thearles lyvings now in his Restraint, as yf he were at liberty, to which end wee have also sent up Sir Christopher S^t. Lawrance to assist Sir George in thymployment of the forces, and when he shalbe Revoked hether, to deliver thordering of the forces and contrey to Sir Christofer, but not to take chardge of the yonge Lady on whose behalff wee thought not meete to comytt that trust to him. But to Sir George Wee gave secrett instructions to be reserved to himself, that he shold have a speciall care over the yonge Lady to stopp all practises that might be made; either directly by the parents consent to procure the Earles liberty, or indirectly by anie of the Butlers or anie other of this contrey birth, to gett her into ther hands for any purposs whatsoever: This we thought best to be donn for the tyme, both for the state of the contrey, and saffety of the yonge lady, whom wee thought more convenient to secure for the present in this manner, then to draw her away from the afflicted lady her mother, who in this heavy case of hers, is her cheefest comforte; yet consideringe the importance of the yonge ladie and the consequences that may breake owt by her, either to the good or evil of Her Majesties affaires, as things may fall owt, Wee humbly desire your Lordships to moove Her Majesty, for the withdrawinge of her owt of hand into England to be kept abowt Her Majesty, whereby many daungerus sequells may be prevented, and all just cawss of discontentment in the parents taken away. The consideration whereof wee humbly leave to your Lordships, and to have Her Majesties speedy direction in this point, as also what courss wee are to hold, yf thearle with the greiff and durance of his captivity shold chaunce to dye, or the traytors in whose hands he is, shold force him for the redemption of his liberty, to contract for his daughter any thinge that maie be prejudiciall to the state, A matter which in reason may be dowted, though the best is to be hoped for of his Lordship. Wee have heard nothinge asyet from the Earle since his desaster, onely he hath written to the Countess, chardginge her upon the love shee beareth him, not to procure any force to be used for his rescuinge, least yt shold encrease the daunger of his lifff, wherein wee are of the same mynde, and therefore do humbly pray your Lordships advise and direction, what course we are to hold in so great a cawse, And yet in the mean while, wee have and will ymploy instruments, to discover in what sorte they entreat him, what intelligences pass between Tyrone and them towchinge him, and what purposs they have for his liberty. In which points wee dowt not but they will hold sondry pernicious counsell, and

will specially ayme at the gettinge of his daughter, either by practise, or by the Earles consent for his restitution to liberty, which, both waies, cannot but be hurtefull to Her Majesties affaires.

"At Dublin 17 Aprilis 1600.

"Your Lordships etc, most humbly

"At commaundement

"MOUNTIOYE

"Ad. Dublin C.

"THOS. MIDENSIS.

"RO. GARDENER. GEORGE CARY. R. WINGFELDE.

"ROBT. NAPPER. ANTH. SENTLEGER. GEFF. FENTON.

"F. STAFFORDE.

[Superscribed] "To the right honourable the Lords & others, of Her
" [Majesty's] most honorable Privy Counsell &c. At Courte.

[Indorsed] "The L. Deputy and Counsell to the Lords. Orders
"taken for the preservation of Kilkenny, and the E. of Ormond's
"daughter. R. at Greenewich the 7th of May."

"CAREW AND THOMOND to THE ENGLISH COUNCIL.¹

"It maye please your Lordships,—Although I the Presydent have by letters advertysed the Lord Deputy the manner, in what sorte the Erle of Ormond was taken (which I thincke is by his Lordship sent unto you) yet we thincke it our duties to make relation thereof unto your Lordships, and to make knowne to your Honours how accyidentally we were wyt-nesses of his mysfortune. On Monedaye the vijth of Aprill we departed from Dublyn, and upon Wednesdaye at night we came to Kyllkenny where we found the Erle of Ormond. In our company we had 100 horse, dispersed in the Countrie tenne or twelve myles dystant from us by the Erles Officers. Assone as we came unto him, he acquainted us that he had appoynted the next daye to parlye with Owney M^cRorye, we tolde his Lordship that we would attende him, and I the Presydent desyred his Lordship that my 100 horse might be sent for to goe with us for his Lordship's better garde, which he refused thanckinge me for my offer, sayenge that he had no neede of them. The next daye being the xth² of this present, after dynner,³ his Lordship, not having in his company above the number of 17 horsemen of his followers armed, and not a lytle above the lyke number of all sortes (wherof we were parte) and the rest Law-

¹ This joint letter, written by Sir George Carew and the Earl of Thomond to the English Privy Council, has been printed, but not very correctly, in the "*Patata Hibernia*," chap. iii. This Earl of Thomond was Donogh O'Brien, who combined a feudal earldom with his Celtic chieftainship of the O'Briens. He was grandson of Donogh, second Earl of Thomond, who married Helen, youngest daughter of Piers Earl of Ormond, and was therefore cousin to Earl Thomas,

whose captivity he so narrowly escaped sharing.

² The Irish Council say the 9th, but, as appears from the above, erroneously. See p. 395, *supra*.

³ They left Kilkenny probably about twelve or one o'clock, and it is likely did not reach the place of parley before four or five in the afternoon. O'Sullivan says that Ormonde's party did not quit the place till next day,—"*Hist. Cath. Compend*," p. 206.

yers, marchants and others upon hackneyes, with no other weapons then our swordes, rode out to the place of meetinge, eyght longe myles from Kylkenny called Corranneduffe, upon the borders of Ydough,¹ leaving his Lordship's owne company of 200 footmen shorte of the assigned place about two English myles. The place where we mett with the Rebells was upon a heathy ground descending towards a narrowe straight, havinge on ether syde of us a lowe shrubbye boggye wood within three pyke length at the farthest from the place where we parlyed and the lyke distance from the straight aforesaide, the choice of which ground we much myslyked. Owney M^cRorye when he came into us brought with him a troope of choyse pykes, leavinge in a lytle playne beyond the straight within halff Callyver shott of us in our sight all his grosse, being all to the nomber (as Redmond Ketinge one of the Rebells dyd sweare unto me the President) of 500 foote stronge and 20 horse wherof 300 were Bonaghes, the best furnyshed men for the warr, and the best apparalled that we have seene in the kingedome. At our first meetinge, and so duringe the parlye (which was appoynted for some good causes best knowne to his Lordship) they stooode as close as they might, every one traylinge his pyke and holdinge the cheeke of the same in his lefte hande ready to pushe. The Erle himselff was upon a lytle weake hackney unarmed (as all we were that were about him) standinge with the syde of his

¹ I have not succeeded in discovering any place called Currawn, or Corranneduff, answering in position to the locality of the Earl's capture, but have little doubt that it must be placed somewhere near or on the old road from Ballyragget to Ballinakill, where it descends from the hills towards the low-lying boundary of the Queen's County. When on the spot some years ago, I was struck by the features of the ground, just where the road leaves the heathy ground, as bearing a close resemblance to the graphic description above given. I am aware that Ledwich places the site of the Earl's capture near Castlecomer; and it would seem that the late Rev. Matthew Kelly, in his edition of O'Sullivan's "*Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium*" (p. 205, note), was influenced by Ledwich's statement, when he says that the place is still pointed out (?) near Eskerty Wood, about two and a half miles south-west of Castlecomer. Now, it will be remembered that the meeting is said in the State Papers to have taken place on the borders of Leix (p. 395, *supra*), and also on the borders of Idough, as above. The borders of Leix answer to the present south-eastern boundaries of the Queen's County, and Ui Duach or Idough was, in 1600, conterminous to the north with the parish of Castlecomer. The place must, therefore, have been in the county of Kilkenny, on the borders of the Queen's County, and near the confines of the parish of Castlecomer. A

glance at the Ordnance Index map will place these considerations in a clear light. In addition, we have the direct statement of the "Four Masters" (vol. vi., page 2167), that the place appointed for the meeting was "*in the neighbourhood of Bel-atha-Raghat [Ballyragget].*" The only difficulty that remains is the distance from Kilkenny. It is fully twelve miles to the spot I am contending for. Now, the despatch of Carew and Thomond says "eight long miles;" but the addition of the epithet "long" shows that some latitude may fairly be allowed. Carew writes to Mountjoy (p. 393, *supra*), that the Earl was set on an hackney, and carried *that night* into Leix, six miles from the place where he was taken. Now, we learn from Peter Lombard's work, already quoted, that he was carried to a *fortified castle* the same night:—"Captus sic Ormonius, abducitur in munitum quoddam Castrum." But the Irish of Leix had no castle in their hands within six miles of Castlecomer, or its neighbourhood, whilst Gortnaclea Castle, where we know the Earl was on the 14th, is not much more than six miles in a direct line from the neighbourhood of Ballinakill, where it is contended that the parley took place. The castle of Ballyragget was at this time garrisoned for the Queen, as will be seen lower down, which would be an additional reason for Ormonde to choose a place in its neighbourhood for the parley.

hackney so neere to the Rebels as they touched him. After an hower and more was ydely spent and nothings concluded, we and others dyd pray his Lordship to departe, but he, desyrous to see that infamous Jesuyte Archer, did cause him to be sent for. Assone as he came the Erle and he fell into an argument, wherein he called Archer, traytor, and reproved him for seducing (under pretext of Relligion) her Majesties subjects into Rebellion. In this mean tyme the Grosse of the Rebels had left ther standinge in the playne, and some crepte into the shrubbes aforesaid, and others dyd so myngle themselfs amonge us that we were invyroned, and stooode as if we had byn in a fayre, whereof dyvers dyd advertise his Lordship, and at laste, I the Erle of Tomond willed Owney to put backe his men, and I the Presydent desyred his Lordship to be gone, for that I did not lyke ther mingelinge with us, wherwith as his Lordship was turninge his horse, at an instant they seased upon him and us two.¹ His Lordship was in a moment drawne from his horse, we had more hanginge upon us then is credibly to be beleved, but our horses were stronge and by that meanes dyd breake from them, tumblinge downe on all sydes those that were afore and behynd us, and (thankes be to God) we escaped the pushe of their pykes which they freely bestowed, and the flinginge of their skeynes without any hurte, saving that, I the Erle of Tomond receved with a pyke a wound in my backe. The Erles horsemen which were armed were farr from us, for every one was dyspersed and talkinge with particuler Rebels about their borderinge busynes, so as we do protest unto your Lordships, in all we were not above 10 unarmed men neere unto him, and assone as the allarm was rayased, every man of his Lordships followers rane away without lookinge behynde them. After we had cleared our selfs within a butt length at the moste, we made hault and called for the Trumpett, and cryed upon the Erles men for a chardge, but none stood by us but Capten Harvy, Capten Browne, Mr. Comerford a lawyer, and three of our servants, which was all the Company we had there, and all of us without armour or other weapon then our swordes, so as for want of more company we were enforced by the Enemies shott to leave the grounde to them.² But we do assure

¹ There are extant two contemporary picture maps of the capture of the Earl. One, preserved in Lambeth Library amongst the Carew MSS., represents the meeting of the Earl with O'More at the commencement of the parley. The two parties are drawn up in line, facing each other. This map has been engraved in the "*Pacata Hibernia*," p. 24. The other is extant amongst a collection of ancient maps in the MS. Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and has been engraved by Ledwich ("*Antiquities*," 2nd ed., p. 276). The last-mentioned map shows the parties mixed together, and the Earl being pulled off his horse by two Irishmen. Melachlin O'More, "a gentleman of Owney's people," was the first that laid hands on him. Melachlin fell at the storming of Dunboy Castle, June 17, 1602, amongst its gallant defenders.—"*Pacata Hib.*," chap. viii.

² We have two accounts of the capture of the Earl written by authors favourable to the side of the Irish, which are given here for comparison with the English State Papers. Peter Lombard, who published his "*Commentary*" in 1632, and may therefore be looked on as a contemporary, writes as follows:—

"Post hæc, in Aprili mense accidit ut Comes Ormonius Capitaneus Generalis (ut dictum est) exercitus Reginae, colloquium (constituto ad id certo loco atque tempore) institueret cum Dom. Andoeno Moro, Familæ hujus in Lysia Dynasta principali; ad quod cum utrimque conventum esset, Comes Dynastæ suisque improperare, adeoque durius cepit eos increpare, quod ausi arma sumere contra naturalem suum, ut dicebat, Principem, Angliæ Reginam (quacumque id de causa factum) in incepta perduellione seu

your Lordships, the place wherein we parlyed was of such advantage to the enemy, that 500 foote would not have cared for 500 horse, and there-

rebellione, adeo se præberent pertinaces, ut oblatâ eis remissione omnium, in quibus offenderant, imò et satisfactione præteritarum querelarum, seu, si quas passi, injuriarum, nollent tamen adhuc pro debito suo officio ad obedientiam S. Majestatis redire. Cui responsioni ab aliis ita fuit responsum, ut dicerent intrepide, bellum quod ipsi gerebât tantum abesse a crimine perduellionis seu rebellionis contra legitimam Principem, ut potius sit susceptum pro jure ejus atque principatu, imo ex ejus auctoritate & mandato, quem ut olim Hibernia tota, ita ipsi etiânum legitimum suum Principem & Dominum susciperent & agnoscerent, id est Rom. Pontificem: cujus cum notoria esset sententia anathematis, pridem lata in Reginam istam, tamquam hæreticam & hæreticorum fautricem, omnesque illi, sive in perfidiâ suâ impietatibus & favoribus adhærentes, sive aliâs obedientes; eaque interim perfidiâ & impietatis scelera, non in Angliâ tantum immani crudelitate plurimum auxerit, sed et in Hiberniam quoque præsumpserit extendere, id ita permittente justo Dei judicio, tametsi hoc ipsâ nesciente, ut peccata peccatis addendo, sententiâ ejusdem executionem huc usq' dilatam, tandem aliquando eam in se provocaret. Idcirco ipsos non amplius eam pro Principe sua agnoscere, sed tanquam hostem aestimare, Dei in primis, cujus Sancta contempsit, violavit, & profanavit; deinde Ecclesiæ, à qua ob perfidiam suam & impietatē abscissa, eadem adhuc persequitur & oppugnat; deinde Patriæ, quam contra formam administrandi præscriptam Anglorum Regibus in Privilegio, quo dominium hujus Insulæ eis concessum, supra omnes suos Prædecessores, in fortunis corporibus & animabus hominum afflixit & oppressit. Quibus auditis, vicissim cœpit Comes quædam irreverentiùs loqui in Pontificem, non tam ex proprio quidem sensu & affectu, quam ob præsentiam quorundam præcipui nominis Anglorum, quos in comitatu habuit, ne iis videretur tam gravem, uti interpretabatur, contumeliam Reginæ factam, inultam tolerare. Ast alii, qui, quæcunq' in se ab eodem Comite durius dicta, vel adhuc fortè dicerentur, paratos se monstrant patientissimè ferre, istâ ejus in Pontificem irreverentiâ adeo sunt commoti, ut illico injectis in eum manibus, captivum se coegerint dedere, quousq' quid de eo Princeps O'Neillus statui vellet, plenius resciretur; unde subitaneo exorto tumultu, ex sequentibus ejus aliqui sunt occisi; re-

liqui, ac nominatim Comes Tomoniæ, ac Dom. Edouardus Larevus [Carevus], novus Momoniæ Præses, relicto eo, aufugerunt.

“Captus sic Ormonius, abducitur in munitum quoddam Castrum, ubi pro custodia ejus constituto præsidio satis firmo, ex militibus Principis O'Neilli; cæteroquin, quanta fieri poterat, permissa ei libertas, tam ut se quocunq' vellet exercitii genere, recrearet, quam ut domestici sui & illic in omnibus illi ministrarent, & quæcumque usibus ejus necessaria aut commoda adferrent ei ex Palatio suo Canonicocellensi: quod inde unius dumtaxat diei itinere distat. Quia vero auditum est mussitari a quibusdam, non licuisse eum in colloquio hujusmodi, in quod utrimque conventum erat, capere, nec proinde sic captum detinere. Idcirco qui ceperant, priusquam Principem O'Neillum de hoc certiorum redderent, viros quosdam doctos de æquitate istius sui facti consulentes, exposuerunt illis, quod propter injurias illam verborum quæ post colloquium initum a Comite irreverentiùs dicta in Romanum Pontificem moti sunt, quod aliqui, neque cogitarant neque attentarant ad manus in eum injiciendas. Ab initio etiam de colloquio ineundo, his & non aliis circumstantiis propositum & conventum, ut comes quidem, qui id primus petiit ac proposuit, securum ipsis promiserit accessum et recessum. Ipsi verò nullam ejusmodi securitatem vicissim Comiti sunt polliciti; imò nec Comes ullam ab iis petierit; quod eam petere, vel minus fortè decorum, vel certè non putarit necessarium. Quæ cum ita se habere intelligerent, qui in consilium adhibiti, etiam resolverunt nihil in eo capiendum vel detinendo cōmissum contra æquitatem; et ideo qui ceperant, eum detinere statuerunt, quousque et quomodo videretur Principi O'Neill, ad quem post captam istam resolutionem, de re tota perscriperunt.

“Interim accessere ad Comitem Ecclesiastici quidam viri, qui et de his, quæ ad Catholicam spectant religionem, liberius eum & plenius, quam antea unquam poterant, instruxerunt & insuper cōmonuerunt de officio quod Deo, Ecclesiæ & patriæ præstare posset & deberet, pro oblata occasione per bellum, quod nunc ibi geritur, ad religionis causam promovendam. Quos ille in omnibus benevolè audiens, de religione quidem se ab iis instrui gratanter accepit, & cum fructu: neque enim, ut præmissum, hæretica ei unquam doctrina probata; sed quominus tamen ipse aliis suæ patriæ Proceribus Catholicis,

fore (his Lordship havinge not foote with him) it was impossible to do the enemie any harm with horse. This treacherye (for so we must terme it

etiāsi pro religionis causa fœderatis posset se adjungere, has allegās rationes : in primis, quoniam ultra perpetuam familiæ suæ observantiam in Coronam Angliæ, peculiares quædam intervenerant ipsi cum Regina hac necessitudines, quibus tenebatur, ne, quàm diu ea viveret, partes ullas sequeretur aut foveret, quibus in Coronâ istam hostilitas exerceri videretur. Deinde, quoniam ejusmodi ei domestica vincula, a quibus pericula certa expectanda forent, si quippiam tale moliretur. Cum & uxor ejus Anglica & quidem hæretica, & occasione ejus compelleretur complures alios ejusdem nationis & religionis habere familiares. Denique, quia non satis tutum videretur, præsertim ipsi, cujus ditiones expositæ omnino Regiæ copiis, contra tam potentem Principem hostilitatem suscipere, nisi recursus antea esset opis ferendæ a potentibus aliquibus externis Principibus. Nihilominus quibusdam, quibus magis confidebat inter eos, qui cum eo egerant, aperuit liberius, quod adeo sibi displiceret Anglorum in administratione Hiberniæ iniquitas & impietas, ut tametsi cogeretur in his dissimulare quâ diu hæc Regina viveret; nihilominus, si post eam mortuum contingeret superesse, tunc apertè demonstraret quanta sibi cordi religio esset & iustitia.

“Cum autem perlatum esset ad uxorem captum illum & abductum, ea, missis passim in ejus Castellâ, Prædia & Palatia Anglorû præsidii, supplices pro eo scripsit literas, cum ad Reginam Angliæ, tum ad Principem O'Neill; ab illa petens, ut pro mariti sui in ejus Majestatem fidelitatis, & obsequiorum notissimis meritis, dignaretur ipsa nunc inire certam aliquam rationem ad illum e captivitate liberandum; apud istum instans, ut ipse quoque intuitu officiorum, quæ in suis aliquando angustiis & periculis ab eodē acceperat, faciliorem se præberet ad eum dimittendum. Quibus literis respondentes, Regina quidem illico promisit omnem se, quam, saluâ suâ Coronâ, adhibituram operam ad eum in libertatem asserendum, Princeps vero O'Neillus, cunctantibus paulo adhuc agens, agnovit officia à Comite dudum sibi præstita, professus est eorum apud se perpetuum manere memoriam, ideoque & se cupere ei gratificari in quibuscūque posset, absque communis Dei & Patriæ etiam præjudicio & detrimento. Quod, quomodo faceret, sic ut præsentī petitioni satisfaceret, quæ cum magno apparatu immineret, idcirco hanc se consultationem in aliud tempus dilaturum. Verumtamen post cuncta-

tionem istam citiùs & certius per Principem hunc, quàm per Reginam adhibita ratio ad Comitem liberandum. Siquidem, cum primum fugaret hostem, ut id postea declarabitur, inito consilio de eo quod in negotio Comit̃ fieri expediret, sic ut & gratitudinem, quantum fieri posset, demonstrando pro præstitis sibi pridem officiis, beneficium jam rependeret, & tamen simul caveretur, ne quid inde mali communi accideret causæ, statuit tandem libertati illum restituere sub certis conditionibus, pro quibus adimplendis, obsoles ab eo accipit 15. Illustriores ditionis ejus viros, ex quibus aliqui etiam sanguine ei conjuncti, atque ita dimissus Comes, interea sic se gessit, ut & à publicis abstineret negotiis, ac nominatim quidem bellicis, & ut appareat religionis causam esse magis illi conscientia, quam in reliqua sua antea acta vita. Unde cum paulò post quàm esset dimissus, Prorex eum inviseret ac, inter alia, invitaret ad Concionem audiendam, quam hæreticus suus Minister habiturus, Comes accedere detraxit, religione motus, etsi pro ratione redderet, quominus accedere posset, quod indisposita etiam valetudine. Ac paulò post, cum Proregem abeūtem deducere ad aliquod spatium, ab eodem vocatus, ut ad expeditionem quandam, in quam is tunc contra hostes ibat, etiam ipse congregaretur; excusavit id non sibi amplius integrum, quod obsides ejus in eorum essent manibus. Ac certè peroptandum valde foret, ut vir hic nobilis tandem superatis penitus humanarum cupiditatum impedimentis, sicut aliis egregiis, tum animi, tum corporis virtutibus, clarissimam suam familiam plurimum condecorat, sic & in religionis causa, illius imitaretur zelum atq' libertatem, à quo ejusdem familiæ præcipuè venit decus atque gloria, nempe D. Thomæ Cantuariensis, qui libertate digna quovis Christiano Principe & Prælato, ausus fuit resistere Regi, ne dum hæretico, sed violatori solum Ecclesiæ dignitatis atque utilitatis.”—“De Regno Hiberniæ Commentarius, &c., Authore D. Petro Lombardo.”—Lovanii, 1632, pp. 436-45.

P. O'Sullivan Bear printed his “Catholic History” in 1631. He, also, notices the taking of the Earl, but evidently was not so well informed in some points as Lombard:—

“Rursus Comes Vmmonis regii exercitus imperator, et Huon O'Morra uterque in alterius conspectum copias perducit. Erat tunc apud Huonem pater Jacobus Archerus è Societate Jesu, Ibernus vir Catholicæ re-

in respecte of his Lordships confidence in the valour of his owne men, and also in his owne opynion that the enemie durst not shewe him this fowle measure) was contrived by that villayne Archer, and none was made acquainted with it but Owney M'Rorye, two Leinster men, and fowre Bonaghies, for if more had been trusted, there is no doubt but his Lordship should have had knowledge of it. Owney M'Rorye layde his hands on me the Presydent (as they reporte) and next unto God I must thancke my Lord of Tomonde for my escape, who thrust his horse upon him, and at my backe a Rebelle newly protected at my sute, called Bryan M'Donagh Cavenaghe, beinge a foote dyd me good service, and wounded one of those Traytors that layde hand on the Erle of Ormond, for the rest I must thanke my horse, whose strength bare all down about him. On our syde there was but one man slayne, not above fyve hurte, whereof Pierce Butler a kynesman of the Erles was one, who behaved himself valyantly, and about 14 taken prisoners. And of the enemie one was slayne, and a fewe hurte. The prysoners were taken by their owne negligence, who were a foote grasinge their horses. The takinge of this great Lorde, breedes unsettled humours in thes partes, for all the Gentlemen of the Country (wherof some of them were his true followers) for want of a defender are waveringe. Others which in ther owne dysposition were naught, and contayned themselfs as subjectes but for feare of his power, are now at lybertie, and we feare will shortly declare themselfs. To keepe them from present uproares I the Presydent dyd ymmediatly send for 600 foote of the Munster Companies which were at Waterforde, and the 100 horse which were in the Country, to the Towne of Kylkenny, which hath wrought good effecte and stayde ther unsettled humours. Besydes it dyd assure the Lady of Ormond and her daughter which otherwyse had bene subjecte to many daungers. So sorrowful a Lady in our lyffs we have not seene, and do beleve that if it had not

ligionis amplificandæ studiosissimus. perindeque hæresis hostis accerimus, et ob id ab Anglis odio inexpiabili habitus. . . . Hic religiosus motus spe reducendi Urmonium ad sanam mentem petit, ut liceat colloqui. Colloquendi facultatem Urmonius non negat. Itaque ex alterâ parte Urmonius, Dionysius O'Brien Tomoniæ Comes, Lomnachæque princeps, et Georgius Caruus Anglus Momoniarum præfectus, equis vecti, est alterâ verò religiosus Aucherus pedes tribus Ibernis militibus comitatus in utriusque exercitus conspectu ad colloquium conveniunt, nullâ incolumitatis fide interposita. Ibi Archerus, qui linguam Anglicam optimè callebat propter Caruum Ibernicum idioma non intelligentem, Anglico sermone piè, sanctèque suo more incipit facere verba. Eum Urmonius interrumpit futile quoddam argumentum in Summi Pontificis sanctitatem obijciendo. Quâ re subratu Archerus cum pristinum oris habitum aliquantum mutasset, et simul baculum, seu stipitem, quo seniles artus sustinebat, dex-

tera fortè tolleret, tres Iberni pedites, qui eum comitabantur, Anglici sermonis ignari, velle religiosum stipite cum Urmonio congregi, existimarunt. Quamobrem periculum, quòd inermi religioso ab armato impendere putabant, antevertere cupientes duo Urmonium aggressi equo deturbant, tertius quoque ferrum stringit: in quorum auxilium pluribus accurrentibus ex Catholico exercitu, multitudinem veriti Comes Tomonius, et Caruus se fugæ mandant. In Archerum regii magnâ turba prorunt: quibus Cornelius O'Rellus ab Huone missus occurrit. Utrunque equestri pugna et bombardariorum velitatione dimicatur, donec nox prælium diremerit. Postero die pars utraque ab eo loco discessit. Urmonius ab Huone custodiæ mandatus ad fidem Catholicam ab Archero convertitur. Sed O'Nelli jussu veterum amicitiarum memoris incolumis dimissus iterum ad pristinum hæresis vomitum rediit."—"Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernæ Compendium, &c.," edidit Matthæus Kelly. Dublinii, 1850, pp. 205, 206.

pleased God we at that tyme had not bene there, she would hardely have undergone those griefes that dyd oppresse her. For besydes the losse of her husband (in beingge prysoner with those Rogues) she beheld the apparant ruyn of herself and her daughter and no lesse daunger of bothe their lyves, the guard wherof she comytted unto us, not beinge assured of those that serve her. For ther ar dyvers that pretende to be the Erles heires by sondry tytes. First Sir Edmond Butler his second brother, which Sir Walter Butler the Erles nephew (whose blood is not attaynted) will not yelde unto, because his unkle, Sir Edmond, is not restored in blood, and the Vicecount Mountgarret thinckes that he ought to be Erle of Ormond for many reasons which he pretendes. This controversie could not but breede greater daunger to the Countesse and her daughter, for that every of these would be glad to possesse themselves of the Erles houses, and the doubt who is to succede him, breedes unsettled humours in the gentlemen of the Country that be followers to the Erle, every one additinge himself to the partie they affecte, wherby there is a generall destruction which would have broken out to a dangerous Rebellyon if the forces and we had not been there to keepe them in awe. Besydes we dyd not neglecte to send for all the Lords and gentlemen of the country that ar of the best qualytie and have temporysed with them, so as we hope the daungers that were lyke to insue will be for a tyme well appeased. Also understandinge that Ballyragget a house of the Lord of Mountgarrets, in the which there is a warde for the Queene, kepte as a pledge for his loyaltie, that the same was attempted to be wonne by the Vicecounts sonnes who are in rebellyon, and ymmediatly upon the Erles takinge, laye before it in hope to starve the souldyers (for ther laste dayes victuals was spent) I the Presydent upon my credyte dyd take in Kylkenny, victuals, and with a stronge Conveye of horse and foote have victualled it for sixe weekes, whereof the Lord Deputie is advertysed, prayenge him to be carefull for supplyenge of it before that victuall be spent. And because that all thinges might be contynued in good order, we thought good to remayne in Kilkenny untill the Lord Deputie should determyne of some course so to holde it for Her Majesties benefyte, the Countries good, and the Countesse and her daughters safety wherein we were inforced to make large disbursements of our own small stoares for dietinge in that Towne the horse and foote troopes, wherof I the Erle defrayed the charges of my owne Company of 200 foote, and I the Presydent of all the reste duringe our aboad there which was eyght dayes. In this meane tyme we understandinge that Mountgarrets sonnes which ar in rebellyon, dyd come to spoyle the country neere to Kylkenny, we set out some part of our troopes, who lighted upon some of their men,¹ and amongst them (which they slewe) ther was one of the Butlers, a neere kynesman to Mountgarret and a principall leader, slayne and the traytors dryven to the woodes, beinge enforced to leave their enterpryse.

"The 16 of this present Sir George Bourcher and Sir Christofer St. Lawrence (sent from the Lord Deputy) came to Kylkenny. Sir George for chiefe commander of Her Majesties forces there, and to take charge of

¹ A "wast towne six myles from Kilkenny."—*CAREW to MOUNTJOY*, April 19.

the Countesse, her daughter and the Erles houses, and Sir Christofer to be dyrected by him. The forces ther lefte is 200 foote of the Erles, other 200 of Sir Christofers 30 of my foote lefte in a warde in Mountgarrets house called Ballyragget, 85 horse (whereof 50 of the Erles, 25 of St. Lawrences, and 10 of Sir George Bourchers). Synce the Erles takinge we kepte the Rebells from doinge of any harme in the countrey, nether as yet is ther any in rebellyon in the same, but Mountgarrets sonnes, whose force is not such, but in our opynion (without they call straungers to assiste them) her Majesties forces ther ar muche to stronge for them.

"The 17 we lefte Kilkenny and came to this cytie leavinge Sir George Bourcher as aforesaide. Thys accydent hath withhelde me the Presydent from my peculiar chardge longer then I supposed, but therein I hope your Lordships will holde me excused beinge otherwyse so necessarily imployed in these causes of so great importance, wherof I humbly beseche your Lordships in your wisdomes to have due consideration. To morrowe we proceed on our journey towards Corke, from whence (with the rest of the counsell ther) we will advertyse your Lordships in what estate we fynde the Province, not being able here to certefye your Lordships so particularly as then we may. So humbly take our leaves from Waterforde this 18th of April, 1600.

"Your Lordships most humbly to serve you.

"GEORGE CAREWE. D. THOMOND.

[Superscribed.]—"To the right Honorable our very good Lords, the Lords of Her Majesties most honorable Pryvie Councell at the Courte these.

[Indorsed.]—"The Lord Presydent and the Earl of Thomond to the Lords. The manner of the treacherous taking of the Earl of Ormond. Received at Greenwich the 28th."

"CAREW to MOUNTJOY.

(*Extract.*)

"The judgement which your Lordship hathe geven of the losse of this Erle is in my opinion accordinge to the truthe for I could geve many reasons thatt the state cannott receve any great indempnitie by itt, yett notwithstandinge itt had beene more happye thatt he had nott fallen into there hands. In your Lordships letters you required me (yf I could conveniently spare them) to leave 100 foote in Killkenny before which tyme as by former letters may appear, which I sent unto your Lordship, the Erle himselfe by one of his servaunts did pray me to draw all my forces away and to hasten into Mounster. And as for the countrey, as farre as I can judge there is no great danger towards, for when I lefte the same, there was nott any more rebells then Montgarretts sonns, who are followed with 50 Roges att the most, and no more, nether do I thinke thatt any will start into rebellion while the Erle lyves, but afterwards the competitors of his land will disturbe those parts. Moreover I do assure your Lordship thatt you will find itt to be trew thatt the Moores will nott

spoyle any of the Erles owne lands and as for the rest of the borderers upon Lease [Leix] they pay there contrybutions and are secured; I write nott uppon imagination but uppon assured knowledge of thatt which hath passed since his Lordships takinge, and therefore, the forces which your Lordship hath sent thether is sufficient, ... Montgarrett is fearefull and so is his sonne James whome your Lorship saw in Dublin, when I marched towards his towne, they shewed themselves uppon the toppe of a Hill havinge in there Companie about 140 foote and 20 horse, he sent his servaunt unto me sayinge thatt as he was cominge to meet me uppon the way that his horse fell whereby he received a great bruse in his side and had broken a ribbe and therefore prayed me to excuse him, but his sonne James desired to speake with me uppon my word to retourne, and so came unto me accompaned with 12 horsemen, by him I found thatt his brethren were in rebellion, not with malicious harts agaynst the Queene, but to be revenged uppon the Erle of Ormond, and thatt they now would become humble sutors for there pardons, which I thinke they will effect. William M^c Hubbard was att the parlye when the Erle was taken and on the rebells part, the next day he sent to me for a protection, was with me at Killkenny, and followes me into Mounster with 12 horse and as many foote, whereby the passadge between Laghlin (Leighlin) and Killkenny is cleered, this I do to ease thatt cuntrye of a notorious and dangerous traytor. Hereinclosed I do send your Lordship the copie of a letter from the Erle to me, he hath now reason to feare them beinge in there hands, but before he mistrusted them no more then I do your Lordship. James Butler tolde me thatt att the *parley Oney and the Erle off Ormonde* had these *speeches*, you know *saythe* the *Erle* thatt your *father* and *grandfalter* were evermore *my frends* and so *am I to you*, forbeare *you to spoyle me* and *my tenants* and *frends* and I will *do you no harme*: this he sayethe was *spoken*, a little before *he was taken*, and tolde unto him *by on* thatt was *theare*, which is like to be *true*, but hereof no proof can be made and therefore fitt to be suppressed. I beseche your Lordship to take the paynes to discypher this your selfe.

Waterford this 19 of Aprill 1600.

“ Your Lordships most faythfullye devoted unto you

“ GEORGE CAREWE.

“ Burne this letter I beseche your Lordship. [After this in Mountjoy's hand to Cecyll—] Sir I pray accordinge to my Lord Presidents desyre burne this letter but to send it unto you I know itt will nott offende him.”

[This letter was sent to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, but the direction is wanting. The words *underlined* are in Mountjoy's hand, and are written over words in cypher. The inclosed letter from Ormonde to the Lord President Carew has been given at p. 394, *supra*: it's date is 14 April, 1600: on the back of the inclosure is written in Carew's hand—]

“ Archer the Jeswiste was his Lordships Secretarye for he writes but as they geve him Leave, and they read all thatt is sent unto him.”

" CAREW to CECYLL.

(*Extract.*)

" SIR,—Since the writinge of these letters which stayed for a wynde, I am advertised from Sir Richard Shee as by the copie of his letter hereinclosed may appeare, thatt my Lord of Ormond is dischargd out of the Rebell's hands,¹ but uppon what conditions or pledges I know nott, nott havinge herd of any thinge more then whatt Sir Richards letter imports, his Lordship is happie to be quitt as he is howsoever, yf I had bene in his Roume I might have said Buenas noches to my frends for ever seeinge me agayne: I humblye beseche you to take some occasion to write unto the Erle of Tomond, in whome (yf I be nott deceaved) besides his zealous faythe to the queene, he dothe particularlye honnour and respect you. I protest unto your honnour by the Majestie of God that I have nott knowne in my life any man of Ireland birthe to be equalled unto him. . . .

.

 so humbly rest

" Your honnours most bounden

" GEORGE CAREWE

" Waterford : 20 : Aprill : 1600:

[Superscribed] " To the right honorable Sir Robert Cecill knight
 Her Majesties princypall Secretary att the Court.

[Indorsed] " The Lord Presydent of Munster to my master, The
 Earle of Ormonde delyvered. Received at Grenewich
 the 28th."

SHEE to CAREW.

" MY VERY GOOD LORD,—Knowenge you will be most glad of such newes as hath ben brought hether this night at eyght of the clocke by William M^c Hugh Gaukegh Sir Patrick Hoen and and M^r. Hoeth, of my deere Lord his discharge from the captyvitie of the Rebells, I have dyspatched this bearer my messenger with this my letter to acquaynt your Lordship therewith. My Lady expecteth his beinge here very shortely, Joyfull and merry she is God be thancked. So with the Remembrance of my duty restinge allwayes

" Your Lordships humbly to commaund

" R. SHEETHE.

" Kylkenny the 19th of Aprill at
 8 of the clock at night.

[Indorsed in President Carew's own hand]
 " The copie of Sir Richarde Shees letter to
 the president of Mounster."

¹ The information, contained in Sir Richard Shee's letter, was unfounded

" FENTON to CECYLL.

(*Extract.*)

" Therle of Ormond contynueth still in the Castle of Gortencleagh, upon the debatable ground betweene Osserie and Leax, where Owny himself is his keeper, who geveth him the favour to have his diett dressed by his owne cookes, and brought to the Iron grate of the Castle by his owne men, but there Owny himself receiveth the diett, and carrieth yt up to therle, not suffringe any of his Lordships owne servannts to come within the grate.

" The preests and Jesuits do lodge in one romth [room] with therle, of purpuss to alter him in religion, and they tempt him with many ridiculous offers, as to make him prince of Leinster, so as he will become a Popish catholick and draw her Majesty to resigne the two countreys of Leax and Ophaly to the O'Mores and O'Connors, what therles answer is to theis propositions I know not asyet, but I thinke in the honour and dutie he oweth to God and his soveraigne prince, his annsweres are negative.

" It is geven owt, that Tyrone laboreth to have therle sent into Ulster into his possession, and to that end prepareth in person to draw up to the borders of Westmeath to receave him, but I am of mynd that the confederate rebells of Leinster will never consent to pass therle of Ormond owt of Leinster into Ulster, and I looke that ere yt be longe, some manner of contract for his libertie, will pass amongst them, upon pledges or slanties,¹ for I assure myself, that the kearne of Leinster will not suffer one dropp of his blood to be spilt, nor his person to be delivered over to forreine captivitie, but in the meane while, this is the iniquitie of his desaster that the state may not use force to reskew him, whilest he is in their hands, least thereby the daunger of his liffe might be encreased.

" In haste at Dublin 26^o Aprilis 1600.

" Your honors ever most humbly to be commaunded

" GEFF. FENTON.

[Superscribed] " To the right honorable Sir Robert Cecyll Knight principall Secretary to Her Majesty, and Master of the Wards and Liveries &c.

" hast hast.

[Indorsed] " Sir Geff. Fenton to my master Rec^d 7 Majj at Grenewich."

" DELVIN to MOUNTJOY.

" MY VERIE GOODE LORD.—The Intelligenser with whome I formerlie acquainted your Lordship is returned with a packet containyng 13 letters written in Irishe from Tyrowen, all directed to the Mounster and Leynster

¹ In Irish, *plána*, sureties.

Rebels saving one to the Earle of Ormond, the copie whereof and of Desmond and Oney m^rRorye his letters translated verbatim I send your Lordship. The other ten contayning the generall newes, and perswasions to garde downe the Earle of Ormonde, I coulde not translate verbatim, by reason of the messengers hast, and feare to be discovered, but have sent youre Lordship a brieve of there differences, and to whom they were directed.

"The partye him selfe was present at a place in O'Donels contrey called the Callabegye [Killibeggs], when the two Spanishe ships arryved ther, and sawe them receaved with great tryumphe by Tyrowen and O'Donell. The armes and munytion they brought by reporte as he harde, are 2000 calyvers, 4 lb of powder with matche and leade proportionable for every calyver, and 2000 pykes. They have a present purpose to sende upp forces to anoye the pale, which I beleve they will attempt the rather for the better conveyeng downe of therle of Ormond, and that my brothers son Richard Nugent hath undertaken to get them the spoile of this contrey. Upon his last protection he procured some yong fellowes here in the contrey to joyne with him, and doe labor by some wicked instruments to get out more, but I will prevent it the best I maie god willing. It wilbe verie necessarie in respect of the service, that your Lordships means in getting these intelligences be knowen but to verie fewe. I shall desire that in this and the like causes it will please your Lordship to use your servaunt Mr. Cooke, of whose goode caryadg and sufficiency I have bene verie well experyenced, when he served Sir William Russell being Lord Deputy. And so recomending my service unto your Lordship I humbly take leave. Kyltome the 26th. of Aprile 1600

"Your goode Lordships to doe you
"service

"C. DELVIN¹

[Superscribed]

"To the Right Honourable and my
very good Lord the Lord Deputy."

"CARY² to CECYLL.

(*Extract*).

Sethens (*since*) the endinge of my letter I received the cotypes of these letters which my Lord of Delvin sent unto me, which his Lordship took from a messenger of that archetraytorly villayne Tyrone.

[Superscribed]

"To the Right Honorable Sir Robart
Cecylle knight pryncypall Secretary to Her Majesty and Master of
the Wardes and Lyveryes.

¹ Sir Christopher Nugent, ninth Baron of Delvin. He died in 1602, whilst confined in Dublin Castle, on a charge of correspondence with, and aid given to, Tyrone.

"Archdall's Lodge's Peerage," vol. i., p. 235.

² This was Sir George Cary, the Treasurer. The letter is dated 26th of April, 1600.

[The following inclosures are dated from Dungannon "2^d. May 1600" but that means 1600 ^{Apr. 22}_{May 2}, or the 22^d. of April, according to the style of Cary's letter, which incloses them and is dated 26 April. Tyrone and the Irish used the old style.]

"The Copie of Tirowens letters.

"Wee send our commendations to yow, the Earle of Ormond, we are tolde that you are apprehended by Owny M^rRory: You knowe there is none of the birth of Ireland, that we would greeve more to fall to trouble then yow: notwithstandinge, we thanke God, that you are in the handes of the servaunts that are true to God, and the Poope, and the Kinge of Spaine, whence with the leave of God your soulvatione shall come and the safetie of your conscience and cuntry, by mean of your trouble in the hands of men, that have lesse wordly creditte then you, and that you may geve creditte faythfully from hencefourth in the Catholique faith. At Dunganen the second of May 1600.

"O'NEILL.¹

"Wee comend us unto you Earle of Desmond. Our newes unto you, thanks be to God, is, the goode of this northe parte and our helthe, strong and of power against every our contrey enemy neere us, and far, and provided for the enemyes drawing towards us. It is reported unto us, that the Earle of Ormond (by the help of God and power of the Irishry) is taken. Wee thanke God for it and wee are sure that the goode of Ireland will groe of it, we desire, you as becomethe you, to be of goode comfort, and to increase your fame, and put in many goode Bonyes [Bonaghts), and doe your uttermost against your enemyes, and advertise us of all newes. Knowe ye that some Spanishe shipping came into Ireland, whereine the Archebushopp of Dublin, and parte of the Kings Armes and Munytion are come, and a great Navye presentlie comyng for England. Wee wrote in your behalfe to the King and of your service and helpe: Wee sent our son Henry unto him and God willing the helpe at hand will shortlie appear unto you.

"Dongenen 2^d. May 1600.

"Wee comend us unto you Oney M^rRory, Thanks be to God that wee are in goode helthe, strong and of power against any enemye neere us, and provided for the enemyes comyng upon us. Wee understand that you throughe the grace of God (to whom wee yeld thanks,) aprehended the Earle of Ormond, wherof wee doubt not the goode of all Ireland will ensue: but his welthe and frindshipp is soe great as you shall hardlie finde men whom you maie trust to keepe him safe there. Wherfor wee desire you earnestlie to use him honorablie, but to keepe him verie sure untill he be sent hither by the helpe of yourselfe and suche as wee have appointed for that purpose. Therfor be not tempted to enlardg him upon any profer, for if you will desire Ransome you shall have money and goulde at my hands. And for peace I will never make without includ- ing you in the same with as goode termes as any man els in Ireland.

¹ The copy inclosed in the letter of April 26 is a more hasty translation from the ori-

ginal Irish than the above, which is also to be found amongst the State Papers.

Knowe yee that some Spanishe shipping came into Ireland, wherine the Archebushopp of Dublin and parte of the Kings Armes and munytion are come and a great navie presentlie comyng for England. Wee sent our son Henry unto the King whose helpe at hand will shortlie apeare unto you. Therfor be of good Cowradg, and increase your valyant acts.

“Dongenon 2^o May 1600

“Item A letter to Florence M^cackartymore verbatim according Desmond’s letter

“Item. A letter to Richard Butler the Viscount of Mountgaret’s son Importing the forsaid newes, and willing him to aide Oney M^cRory in garding therle of Ormonde to the Northe.

“Item a letter to Richard Terell verbatim to the former effect with addition that he should bring downe the horsmen and horses which were left with Teig M^cDermot in Muskrye.

“Item a letter of the same tenure to Redmond Bourke saving for the horses.

“Item a letter to Dermot M^cConnor importing beside the conveiang of therle of Ormond thanks for his goode service, in killing the Lord Bourke and his brother, for that he sawe him not, by reason of his¹ hasty returne.

“Item a letter to William Terrell, a letter to Fyaghe M^cHughe his sons, and a letter to Donell Spanaghe all importing the generall newes and direction of sending downe the Earle of Ormond to the Northe, saving that he dothe admire that Donell Spanaghe should come to Dublin, without his knowledg, perswading him to keepe his warde and contynue his enterprise.

“Item a second letter to Oney M^cRory perswading the sending downe of the Earle of Ormond of one effect with the former.

“Item a letter to the chieftest of the Conors importing the former newes, and perswading the sending downe of the Earle of Ormond and encowradging them to proceed in ther valyant enterprises, all bearing date at Dongenon the second of May 1600”

“FENTON to CECYLL.

“RIGHT HONORABLE,—This advertisments enclosed,² were brought to me a day after the shutting up of this packet. Your Honour may see what Tyrone giveth owt towchinge the preparations of Spaine against England and this realm, the truth or falsehoode whereof is better knowne to your honour then to me. But for my parte I esteem them all but Spannish driftes and subtelties, to carry on some contrary desseignes. And where yt seemeth Tyrone hath sent his second sonn into Spaine I thinke yt is more for education sake then that he shold be a tye upon the traitour his father. Your honour may see by the extracts, how Tyrone laboureth to gett thearle of Ormonde into his hands, but I am still of mynde, as I have bin from the beginnunge, that the confederates of Lein-

¹ i. e. Tyrone’s. His return to the North was almost a flight. See p. 388, *supra*.

² Alluding evidently to a copy of Tyrone’s letters already given.

ster will not suffer him to be carryed owt of the Province, some probability whereof your Honour may see by this letter enclosed brought to me even now from the Glynnnes in Fewgh McHughs contrey, where yt is expected that the Earle shalbe brought very shortly, and to that end Felim McFewgh remayneth still in Leix, workinge with Owny to have thearle brought to the Glynnnes. Yf his Lordship do come thether, yt is a good stepp to his liberty, for that he is there amongst his frindes, who at the worst, will keepe him owt of the hands of Tyrone, yf they do not fully enlardege him. I see that this dessaster of thearle of Ormond will torne in thend to good service to Her Majesty, for that the differences that are and do daily encreas amongst them, towchinge his takinge and the conditions of his liberty, cannot but make breaches amongst them, to theundaungeringe of some of the best of them. And so in great hast I most humbly take leave. At Dublin 29^o Aprilis 1600.

"Your Honours most humbly to
command

"Geff. FENTON

[Superscribed]

"To the right honorable Sir Rob^t.
Cecyll knight, Principall Secretary
to Her Majesty, and M^r. of the
Wards and Liveries &c.

"At Courte hast hast

[Indorsed] "Sir Jeff. Fenton to my
Master with an extracte of some
intelligences

"Rec^d. at Grenwich 7 Maij

[Post marks] "Conway at 5 a clock yn the mornyng the 5 of May.

"Ruthland half an howre past viij

"Chester at ii after none the vth. Maie at Namptwoch at vj.

"At Stone after x. at Lychfyld past ij

"Colsil after vj at Coventry at viij

"Daventry past 12 at noone

"Tocester at 2 Brickhill past 5."

"BYRNE to FENTON (*enclosed in the foregoing letter*).

"Right worshipping my humble dutie remembred. Your worship's man Morrogh McEallough came in your name to learne what newes there was here of my Lorde of Ormond whereuppon I sent presently to Ranolagh¹ where I understand that Phelem McFeagh² is not come from Leise as yet, but there is a house made redy within the Glines with gret provision for my Lord is comynge, Phelem his wife expects my Lord of Ormonde is comenge very shortly to Ranolagh: as sone as I here any further newes of the same your Worship shalbe first acquaynted withall,

¹ "Fastnes in Feogh McHughs contrey."
In Sir Geoffrey Fenton's hand.

² "Feogh McHughs sonne," written over
by Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

not only this but all other newes that shalbe in these borders. So I humbly take leave from Kiltemon this 26 of Aprill 1600

“Your worshipp humble to commaunde

“G. BYRNE¹

[Superscribed]

“To the right worshippingfull my very good frend Sir Jeffray Fenton knight one of Hir Majesty’s Privie Councell these give.”

“MOUNTJOY to CECYLL—(*extract*).

“SIR,—To answeare your expectation concernynge the Earle off Ormonde thear is yett nothinge happened off any consequens; his owne mynde wee can nott know; for whatt so ever wee heere from him coms by the eares or eys off the rebels that keepe him; and therefore lykely to be thears more then his; for they suffer no man to speake with him in privat nor receave so muche as his meate unsearched for letters; I have spoken with divers thatt say they have seen him, for I have imployed many underhande to that purposs; they concurr in this, thatt he is continually tempted by preests, thatt he rejectethe thear perswasions, and protestethe a constant loyaltye to the Queen; in so muche, thatt to one off them thatt beinge discovered to be sent by mee they brought him to the Earle but suffred nott him to com any neerer then the lengthe off the chamber, he openly bid him tell mee that havinge served the Queen longe and growen so olde he was now able to shew his dewty and affection in nothinge more then in suffringe for her, and iff the rebells desyred money for his ransom he doubted nott butt Her Majesty would assist his ability to redeem himselfe, butt wheare they desyred the contraye [country] off Less and other demands he besought Her Majesty to yeelde to nothinge for his sake thatt myght any ways touche her Honor, for he did not vallow him selfe nor all the Erills off Englande and Irelande att so hygh a prise; he is yett in hellthe and kept in a castell on the borders off Upper Ossorye,² whear iff itt wear nott to hazarde his life ther weare soom possibility to recover him; they do generally say thatt they repent his takynge, and itt may be, for he is a dangerus comber to them now, and was helde no evell frende unto them before; with themselves they know nott how to keepe him with safftye and certainly they are lothe to deliver him to Tyrone; they speake off his delivery uppon pledges, but more then his present estate I can hardly deliver unto you off certaynty, I have sent you divers letters by which you may better gather all cyrcumstances, then in any measure I can wryght them. But my owne oppinion is; first off himselfe, thatt in this accidente he was meerly overreached, and for the cause, thatt itt receaves by him no extraordinary danger; itt hatthe for a tyme hartned and kept out the rebells off theas parts thatt wear all comminge in, whom I was att this tyme more affrayde to receave then I now feare any hurte they can do; for iff the army prosper this summer they will com in uppon whatt con-

¹ This was Gregory, afterwards Sir Gregory Byrne, ancestor to Lord de Tabley.

² The Earl, it appears from this, was still at Gortnaclea Castle.

ditions wee will give them; iff itt should nott (which God defende) they would all have gone out agayne whatt pledges so ever wee had taken; and so Sir you may be assured thatt even all the rest off this kyngdom will doo, for although the Earle of Ormond be the last mann thatt I thinke would have cleane quitt the estate off Englande; yett I have great reason to be confidante, thatt dispayringe in the force off Englande to protecte him, he had allredy opened his harte to som other fowndation to make good his estate in this kyngdom;¹ and although he myght wische thatt the Queen myght prevayle yett he served Her with feare and respect to thatt government which he looked would happen to this estate and this was that which I ment to inferr by the passadges and interviews I did wryght to you off, whearuppon followed his strange prosecution off the Traytor in his jorney to Munster, and not thatt I had ever any beleefe thatt he was taken by any conspyracye of his owne. Sir, you must thinke off a course to be helld iff he should dye, for thearin wee have need off your advise many alterations dependenge thearuppon; and he beeinge nott lykely longe to lyve in the estate of his owne boddy and yeares, besides his present danger, I fownde him mucche altered in his boddey and mynde from the man you have seene him in England; weake in bothe, and aparently governed by certayne base followers of his; I have herde off strange absurditeys that he committed in this last jorney off Munster and thatt he did manifestly overslipp the utter ruine off the traytor which was offen in his power, and I have bin certainly informed thatt somtymes he would in his rage breake out into theas tearmes with his followers thatt he should never do the Queen a dayes servis while thos villaynes wear in his companie; att his beeinge in Dublinne, I gave him so littell reason to thinke thatt I tooke notice off any his errors thatt before his departure and att the same we weare in great tearmes off kyndness, and he seemed to be in extraordinary hope off the reducinge off thes kyngdom; and I was so carfull to give him all good satisfaction; thatt before his comminge to the towne I cawsed an Irische man to be whipt about the town with a paper on his hed written for slandruss speeches agaynst the Earle off Ormonde: who had reported openly thatt the Earle ment nott to fyght with Tyrone butt had entered into combination to spare eache other and mucche to the lyke effecte; the reason as I gather by som other off his proceedings why he never acquaynted me with any purposs to deale with Ony M'Rurye, was because he presumed to have drawn him in before I should have ever herde off itt, and to have gotten the more honor thereby to himselfe, and one my Cristianitye I never dremed off any souche matter as his parley, till I herde he was taken, and therefore they thatt ar so apt to lay this accident as an imputation to my government may as well tax the maior of London because Doringeton brake his own neck from the steeple

¹ The antagonism between Ormonde and Mountjoy easily accounts for this groundless insinuation against the Earl. Mountjoy was far more of a traitor in his heart, as it is well known that he had serious thoughts of backing Essex's mad revolt at the head of the Irish army, but prudently held back at

the last moment. Leland says that the Queen looked to the Earl of Ormonde to counteract any traitorous proceedings on the part of Mountjoy, and that the latter was jealous of the high position given to Ormonde as Lieutenant-General of the Irish army.

off S^t. Pulchers; nether was itt wonder thatt the horsmen did quitt him for they wear all his owne and accounted the famus cowards off Irlande, and wear allways wont to leave him when he hathe charged in the hed off them; my Lord Presidente couldd do nothings having but one man off his owne with him: nether couldde he prevent his parley, for the Earle had concluded itt before he ever made him privy unto itt, and for some jelozeys he had off the Earles proceedinge was the more desyrus to be present to observe the matter and manner off thear meetynge.

"Sir I wouldd willingly relate unto you all owre particulartyes but I shall do it with to great difficultey to myselfe and to muche troble to you; but in generall the whole chayne off this rebellion was breakinge before itt was patched upp with this accident, the arivall off to shippes with munition out off Spayne and assured promiss of present supplies hether and invadinge off Englande and off a confermation out off Englande, whearoff all Dublinge was full, off the lyke expected thear, and the preparinge off all the Queens navye; Tyrone receaved the shippes with great triumphe and hathe blazed over all Irelande great and present expectations out off Spayne; and although itt be by him veery cunningly handled, so thatt all even in thos parts beleve itt, yett, I thinke (the shippes as I have herde were one Spanische and another Irische,) and they brought littell or no munition and only soom passengers and Jesuiticall fierbrands, butt itt is so generall thatt I beleve it thatt he hathe sent pledges into Spayne; which I thinke he hathe donn rather with some new demands off his owne then required thearunto by the kynge; Ower men have binn heere three weekes aboard and no industry thatt I could use can or couldd prevent theas strange winds so longe constant in one corner, but even now the winde begins to change

"Yours Sir most assured

"MOUNTIOYE

"1st. May.

"Since the wrytinge off this letter I receaved theas I sende you from my Lady: You may see thearin the demands off the insolent rogue Onye, we will make the best provision wee can for the Earle as far as itt may stande with the Queens honor.

[Superscribed]

"To the right honorable Sir Robert Cecyll knighte, principall Secretary to Her Majesty.

[Indorsed] "Received at Greenwich the vijth."

"ORMONDE to MOUNTJOY and THE COUNCIL (*enclosed in the foregoing letter*).

"MY VERRY GOODE LORDS,—Since the daye I was most infortunatly taken by Owne MacRory, I could find no means to make knowne to your Lordships the state I stand in, which is verry harde; nor had allowance to write, conferre or speake with anny without the consent and privytye of two or thre of my kepers: neither could I lerne before nowe, what their demand was, they expecting the resolution of others their confederates: but urging them daylye to knowe their ententes touching me, at lencthe they presented unto me thes articles signed by Owne his owne

hand which I send your Lordships heare inclosed to be consydréd accord-
ing your wysdomes and mature Judgmentes desiring your Lordships to
lett me understand your wylls as well in this, as in other your en-
tentes in my behalfe.

"I have bene sollicityd to intreate your Lordships to send good se-
curetye and sauconducte under your Lordships hands for James Archer
and Robart Lalor preests with other thre or foure as shall accompaignye
them in their jorney that they maye freely lay downe before your Lord-
ships soche thinges as they in the name of their confederates demand for
pacyfiing (as they say) of thes garboyles and trobles; and that during
that tyme they shall not onely saulfly passe and repasse; but also use
their function without molestation or troble. All which I thought fitt
to referre to your good Lordships and so I committ your Lordships to
Gods blessed guyding, from the woodds the last of Aprile 1600

*"Your good Lordships to command in part, thoghe an
unfortunate prisoner*

THOMAS ORMOND & OSSORY

*"This letter I signe was broght to me ready written, nether ham I alowed
anye of my owne men to wryte for me.¹*

[Superscribed]

"To the right honorable my verry good
Lord the Lord Deputy and Coun-
sayle.

[Indorsed] "Letter of the Earl of
Ormond to my Lord Deputy and
Councell, with Ony M'Roryes
demands.

"30 Aprile 1600 receaved the first of May"



"A note of Owney M'Rory O Moore is demands for the enlargement
of therl of Ormonds honour the 30th. of April 1600.

"1. First to take away all Her Majesties forces from the garrisons of
Leis, and to deliver them (I meane the garrisons) to Owney at his owne
pleasure.

"2. Secondlie to deliver sufficient goode pledges to Owney to putt no
garrison in any place within Leis from the time of removinge the garri-
sons for ever againe.

"3. Thirdlie in case that the saide pledges be not had or enjoyed by
Owney that all the garrisons both of Leis and Ophaly by [sic] removed
out of both the countries and every man to shift for him thereafter.

"Post scripta. To send me and all my frends in Lenster a generall
protection for the space of six wekes and after the receipt of the protec-
tion I will send your Lordships worde whoe will desire the benefitt therof
or noe.

"Also to send no more of Her Majesties forces to Ulster duringe the
time of the protection.

"O M"²

¹ The words in italics, and the signature,
are written in Ormonde's own hand.

² This was Owney MacRory's "mark," as
the O More.

"MOUNTJOY to O'DEMPSEY.¹

"SIR TERENCE,—I would be glad to doe any thinge that might tend to thease or safetie of my very good Lord therle of Ormond and should take any thinge you should doe, if it weare in deede for his benefitt, in as good part as if it weare done to my selfe, and when to that end you shall either lend him your house or doe any thinge els his Lordship shall desire, you shall make as great testimony of your loyaltie, as in any one thinge else, which you can doe; I doe not denie but I have heard manie thinges which might give me occasion to be jealous of your sinceritie, but I shall ever be more glad of your justification, than to find in you or in any of the Quenes subjects any true argument of distrust, and although out of myne owne particular I could be content to use all perswasions to gentlemen of good birth borne under Her Majesties alleageance to exhort them from this impious rebellion and treacherous combination, norished by such false prophetes, as the Church of Rome ytsel is ashamed to avowe, yet I doubt not but God, by Her Majesty's sword which she hath delyvered me, will approve Her cause, right her distressed subjects and give her owne lawes to Her unnaturall revolted subjects; and for your self there is nothinge doth breed in me more distrust in you of the fidelitie and dutie of a subject, then your desire to have that safe conduct, which is free to all that are guiltless: Notwithstandinge if you have anie thinge to negotiate in the behalf of therle of Ormond, which you beleewe may tend to His Lordships good; you may to that purpose repaire unto me, and on my honour (which I will never breake) you shall both freely repaire unto me and as freely depart.

"From Drogheda this syxt of May 1600.

"C. MOUNTJOY.

"To Sir Terence O'Dempsey.

[Indorsed] "Copie of a letter from the Lord Deputy to Sir Terrence O Dempseie."

"FENTON to CECYLL (*Extract*).

"My duty used

"By th'other wrytinge, Your Honor hathe the truest discription that I can send you, of thearle of Ormonde, his owne feelinge of his owne estate, and how farr of he is as yet to have enlardgment: The gentlewoman² hath begonn to play her parte well, shee of whom in my last letter I gave you notice to be sent to therle and to lodge with him in the same Romthe. But now that he is taken owt of the Castle, and ledd from cabban to cabban in the woddess, I doubt her access to him will not be so privat and frequent, yet she remayneth there awaytinge to take her best commodity, And I have this day retourned to her her frind, whom I employed with her

¹ Sir Terence O'Dempsey was the head of the sept of that name, and created Viscount Clannmalier, 22nd December, 1631. The title became extinct on the death of his great-grandson, without heirs male.

² This mysterious personage is elsewhere called "Honora." Her name in cypher was "Imperia Romana." See pp. 417, 421, *infra*, also Carte's "Life of Ormonde." Vol. i., Introduction, p. lxxv.

at the first: for the rest; I leave to the abstract. And towching any further succeedinge yssue by her labours, I will godwillinge advertise your Honnour of every thinge materiall, from tyme to tyme.

at Dublin X^{mo}. Maij 1600.

“Your Honors most humbly to commaund

“Geff. FENTON.

[Superscribed] “To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecyll Knight, principall Secretary to Her Majesty, and M^r. of the Wards and Liveryes &c.

“At Courte

“hast hast”

(Extract of first Inclosure in the above.)

“Jarkey¹ saieth he saw a letter written from Tyrone to thearle of Ormond, which was to comfort him, and to advise him to be thankfull to God, who now in mercy sought to recover him to the Catholique church, to which church yf he wold joine himself he shold finde favour and releeff in his distress.”

(Second Inclosure.)

“IX^{mo}. Maij 1600,—The declaration of the Irish messenger ymployed by Secretary Fenton in company with Honora, to speake with therle of Ormonde.

“He saith, that upon Sondag and Monday last Honora and he came in place, where thearle of Ormond was: But the Bonnoughts flocked so about them, that they cold not speake to him, but in their hearinge, untill at last Owney M^r Rorye put the Bonnoughts owt, and himself stooode a good way of, suffringe Honora, and the messenger, to speake to thearle, himself lysteninge, but cold not well discerne what was said.

“Honora told thearle, that the Lord Deputy hath had goodwill to send to him before, but till now he cold nott gett a messenger, whom he might trust, and now by her his Lordship did assure him, that his unworthy imprisonment greeved him greatly, and that to reskew him out of their hands his Lordship wold ymploy Her Majesty’s forces; and be ready to draw his owne sworde for him, as for one whom he loved with all his harte.

“And for that thearle might know, that Honora came from the state, shee told him a token from Secretary Fenton, which his Lordship knew well and dyd well remember yt: The token was, that his Lordship had a green silke bagg with bookes of the Secretaries, which he Hath often demaunded of his Lordship, and his steward Henry Shea, but cold not have yt, till at his last being in Dublyn: This token thearle dyd acknow-

¹ “The unknown Spy”—note in Sir G. Fenton’s hand. Father Jarkey, the spy, sent to Captain Tyrrell, is a different person from “Thirrysh messenger sent with Honora.”

ledge, and this token the Secretary told to Honora, at her goinge up, least for want of such a help, her whole journey might be frustrated.

"The Earle being confident upon this token, commoned familiarly with Honora; to whom he said, he was greatly beholdinge to the state for sendinge to him, and comfortinge him in his misery, and that consideringe the greiff he had, there was nothinge that dyd more comfort him, then to hear from the state, and his particuler frinds there; nameinge the Secretary by name, to whom he sent a thowsand blessings.

"It dyd exceedingly rejoyce him, when Honora told him the great care the Queens Majesty had of him, and the gracious direction she had given to the State to use all endeavours that might be for his preservation, and recovery.

"Honora questioninge with him what course they wold take for his enlargement, and in what forwardnes he was to have liberty, his Lordship answered, that Owny had proposed to him conditions, which he neither cold nor wold yeeld unto, namely that for his ransom they wold have Leix delivered to them, and Ophaly to the O'Connors: with other lesser demaunds, such as were in his owne power to satisfy, where the delivery of the two contreys was absolutely in Her Majesty, and that he wold rather die in their hands, then to straine Her Majesty to so great a dishonour and loss.

"That he saw little towardnes of his liberty, till God wold putt into their harts to make more moderate conditions.

"That Tyrone had now twice written to have him sent into Ulster, but whether Owny will consent to that or not, thearle knoweth not, he hopeth the best, but yet he cannot but fear the worst.

"The Earle is very full of greiff and melancholy, specially since they tooke him owt of the Castle,¹ where yt was some comfort to him, to lye in a howse covered.

"He is now in the wooddes of Leix, remooved every iij howres, from one fastness to another, which often toylinge of his body, doeth not a little greive his minde.

"Honora abideth there to watch tymes and seasons, for (as the messenger saieth) she hath but interrupted speeches with him, and by snatches.

"To morrow (God suffringe) I will retorne the messenger to her againe, to bringe backe her further doings, And I must give him twenty shillings, and a sworde, for that the Bonnoughts tooke all that he had from him.

"Thearle hath his owne Cooke, and Butler, and sitteth at a table by himself, and Owny at another: Thearle lyeth in his owne bedd, and hath sondry of Kilkenny to come to him, but none can speake with him privately, yet he is suffred to walke aboad certaine howres of the day, but under very streight garde, and under the woodside.

[Indorsed] "A reaport towchinge the Earle of Ormonde, made by Thirysh messenger sent with Honora."

¹ I. e., The Castle of Gortnaclea. O'More evidently feared that his prisoner would be

rescued if left so near the borders of the county of Kilkenny.

“STAFFORD to CECYLL.

(*Extract.*)

“RIGHT HONORABLE,—

Itt is supposed that my Lord of Ormonde will worke his owne liberty by putting in fowre pledges for the assuraunce of the articles which shalbe agreed upon for his release. His Honour's apprehension was very unfortunate, (And to your Honour I speake it) the imbecility of his judgment, with his confidence and truste that the honour of his name was amongst the Irishe his securitye, was the cause of this memorable accident. This Her Majesty's army of Loghfoile doth amaze and stagger Tyrone and the wholle northe.

“Drogheda the 11th of May.

“Your Honour's most dutifull and vowed follower

“F. STAFFORDE.

[Superscribed] “To the right honorable Sir Robert Cecill knight Her Majesty's Principall Secretary and one of Her Highnes most honorable Privie Councill. xj May 1600.

[Indorsed] “Sir Francis Stafford to my Master from Drogheda.

[Post marks] “At Coventry past viij. in the morninge. At Deventrie at eleven of the clocke in thaforenoone. Tocester paste 2 in the afternone. Brickhill past 5. Saint Albones past 8 at night. Barnit at 10 this night.”

“FENTON to CECYLL.

“RIGHT HONORABLE,—Where in one of my late letters of the 5th of this month I wroate that therle of Ormond had sent to Sir Tirence O Dempsie, to have the use of one of his castles for his Lordships more ease, till his traiterus taker might consider further of his enlargement. Now this morning I have received advice, that therle is come to Ballybrettas the said O Dempsies Castle,¹ and there guarded by xxth of Owny's men, whom he trusteth most. They brought him thether by night; not suffringe the Bonnoughs to know of yt, least they might attempt to reskew him, and the more to abuse them, Owny caused a trustie freind of his owne, of stature and resemblance lyke to therle, to put on therles night gowne, which he was wont to weare, and directed him in that fashion to walke by the wood side, where therle used to walke, whilst Owny and some xx others nearest him in trust, put therle on horsbacke, and brought

¹ Ballybrittas Castle lies in the barony of Portneinch, Queen's County.

him to O Dempsie Castle. This was the manner of their stealinge of him thether, but what was their secrett purpose,¹ will not as yet be disclosed, and I see by O Dempsies behaviour, in leavinge his Castle to Owney to be warded by his kearne, that O Dempsie is appauntly revolted, and therefore small hope to therle, of good measure at his hands. The Jesuits are now growen to a faction touchinge therle, some of the best of them (namely Doctor McCragh, legatus a latere to the Pope) maintayninge owt of his divinitie, that as therle was trecherusly taken, so yt is not lawfull for them to keep him prisoner, and laboreth to have him sett at libertie upon easie conditions. Doctor McCragh is of great authoritie, and much revered amongst them for his learninge and age, onely Father Archer who was a conspirator in therles takinge, standeth straineably against him, usinge the same conscience to keep him, which he did to betray him: It is harde to guess when this tragedy will have an end, but the divisions amongst the Jesuits, and the Jelousies Owney hath of the Bonnoughs, which is not unknowne to them, will hast yt to an end. Besides, some of the principall confederates in Leinster, do stomack his detayninge so longe, beinge taken against publick faith; upon theis fractions wilbe wrought the first stepp to his libertie, and perhappes in th' end, bloode will ensue amongst them, which is the issue I looke for.

"The Lord Deputie passed saffely to the Newry upon Whitsunday, making his way thorow the Moyery without impeachment.

"At Dublin, 14th Maij at night 1600.

"Your Honours ever most humbly to be commaunded

"Geff. FENTON.

[Superscribed.] "To the right honorable Sir Robert Cecyll knight, principall Secretary to Her Majestie and Master of the Wardes and Liveries &c. at Court hast hast:

[Indorsed.] "Therle of Ormond brought to Ballybrittas, a Castle of Sir Terence O Dempsies.

"A faction betwene the Jesuistes concerning the said Earle.

"Received at Grenwich the 25th."

"FENTON to CECYLL. (*Extract.*)

"The Earle of Ormond is at O Dempsies howse, at more ease then before, for that he lodgeth in a Castle, but as streightly garded as ever he was. And yet I am of mynde, that owt of that howse wilbe wrought his libertj, either upon conditions, or by surprize, but of this I can wryte no certainty to your honour, till I heare more from my gentelwoman, who (yf yt please you) from henceforth shall pass under the name of Imperia

¹ This stealing away of his prisoner looks as if the Bonnaghts, left by Tyrone with

O'More, wished to carry the Earl off to the North in spite of Owney Mac Rory.

Romana: I have not heard from her since my last, and I hope her lingeringe so longe to sende, is, that shee will take the more tyme to worke her feat: I understand this day by a Rebelle come in, who saw thearle of Ormond ij dayes past, that his Lordship is much altered since his imprisonment, and I hope even that degree of his adversitj, will be a stepp to his enlardgment, for that yf thej see him growe sickly, and his health dowtfull, thej will the sooner Resolve for his libertj, knowinge that yf he dye in their handes, thej lose all the benefitt thej hope for by his takinge, and I wish thearle wold a little dissemble to be sicke to make tryall of his delivery that way. The French King^e cold never gett out of themperours hands at Madrill, till yt was thought that the melancholy of his imprisonment hadd drawn him into daunger of his lifff. I most humbly take leave.

“At Dublyn xvijth Maij 1600.

“Your honours most humbly to commaunde

“GEFF. FENTON.

[Superscribed.] “To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecyll knight, principall Secretary to Her Majesty, and Mr. of the Wards and Liveries, &c. at Court.

[Indorsed.] “The Erle of Ormond at Sir Terence O Dempsies³ House.
“Received at Grenewich. the 25th.”

“CUFFE to CECYLL.

(*Extract.*)

“Onely I may not forgett to signify a foyle of late given to John Fitz Thomas³ by the Lord of Dunboy,⁴ the manner whereof, as also the copies of two letters from the Earle of Tirone to the Earle of Ormond, may appear by the inclosed.

“Corke, this xixth of Maye 1600.

“Your Honours to be commaunded

“HU: CUFFE.

[Superscribed.] “To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecyll knight, principall Secretary to Her Majesty.

[Indorsed.] “Mr. John Cuffe⁵ to my Master from Corke.”

¹ Francis I., when in the hands of Charles V., after the battle of Pavia.

² “Sir Terence married Mary, the daughter of Margaret, the daughter of Edmund Butler the soone of Pierce Butler the brother to the Erl of Ormond.” The above note is in Sir Robert Cecyll's hand.

³ Note in original. “The Erle swgans brother,” i. e., the “sugan” Earl of Desmond's brother.

⁴ Sic for Dunboyne. This was James Butler, second Baron Dunboyne by patent.

⁵ This was Hugh, not John Cuffe. Cecyll's clerk has mistaken his writing.

“O’NEILL to ORMONDE. (*Inclosed in Cuffe’s Letter.*)

“Albeit since I have bourne armes against the Queene, your Honour did not only disfavor me or myne, but used all meanes possible, for my overthrowe and the extirpatione of the Catholique faith and the Ruine of the whole kingdome, beinge the cheifest and principallest instrument to put in execution the evill by Englishe intended against your naturall country: yet in respect of your good will and good turnes shewed to me long before the warres¹ I cannot be so ungratfull but that I would rejoyce at

¹ Lombard, “De Reg. Hib. Com.,” pp. 365-6, asserts that O’Neill was “amicissimè in omnibus suis adjutus difficultatibus” by Ormonde on the occasion of the visit of the Irish chieftain to the court of Elizabeth; also (pp. 367-8), that the Irish Government being disposed to arrest O’Neill when he came to Dublin, in obedience to the Deputy’s summons, Ormonde, who was consulted, indignantly objected to this intended breach of the royal faith pledged for Tyrone’s safe conduct; and having given the latter private information of the plot against him, enabled him to make timely arrangements for his escape. Ormonde ever indignantly repelled the suggestions of the English Government, that he should make use of his intimacy with Tyrone to entrap him: we have ample evidence of this in the following letter, transcribed from a draft, in a contemporary hand, still preserved amongst the Ormonde MSS. at Kilkenny Castle. The original has suffered much from damp, whereby the date of the year has been obliterated; but it must have been written between 1587, when O’Neill was created Earl of Tyrone, and 1595, when Walter Reagh Fitzgerald was, as the Four Masters inform us, *sub anno*, taken prisoner, and executed in Dublin. Pheagh M’Hugh O’Byrne, with whom Walter Reagh was confederated, was slain in 1597. We know that Ormonde was opposed to the proposed detention of Tyrone, who came to Dublin on the arrival of Sir William Russell as Lord Deputy in 1594. (Leland’s “History of Ireland,” vol. ii., p. 331; Lombard’s “Reg. Hib. Commentarius,” *ut supra*.) Hence it seems probable that the letter may be assigned to 1595, especially as we know that Ormonde was placed in command of the Leinster forces in August, 1594, with full powers for suppressing the rebels Pheagh Mac Hugh O’Byrne and Walter Reagh Fitzgerald.—(Carte, “Life of Ormonde,” vol. i., Introduction, p. lviii.) It is likely that the “Mr. Chamberlen” was Sir Christopher Hatton, who was Vice-Chamberlain to Elizabeth, and was, with

Ormonde, security to the Queen for the performance of the agreement made by Tyrone when he paid his second visit to the court in England in 1587.—(Leland.) “Sheleoly” is the famous wood of Shelala, in Wicklow. Ormonde’s “brother” was probably Edmund, third Lord Sheffield, his brother-in-law, a distinguished soldier; it is not likely that his own brother, Sir Edmond Butler, should have been the channel of “her Majesties pleasure” being “signified” to the Earl, as is stated in the letter:—

“MOST DEARE BROTHER—I have thought fit to send you the copy of Mr. Chamberlens letter sent to me in a lē of Sir Jeffrey ffentons [. . .] wch he wrote was Sir Robert [Cecells], the contents of it is wonderfull [. . .] neyther doe I know what promis I am charged wth [. . .] I am not ignorant that som heere have used deuises [. . .] quenes Matie beleeve that my credit is such wth [therle] as I may dispose of him as I list, and soe by treachery (as it seemeth), it should ly in me to deliver him to the governor. I have been Employed by her matie in many services, some agaynst as great as hee beside many others both forrene enemies and country rebels, all wch (I thank God) I have performed to her honor and my owne credit, wth out using dishonest or filthy practices. All men can witnes that know the same I never sought for any speciall interest in therle but loved him in respect of his ability to serve her matie as he alwayes protested he would, neyther howe I had to deale at all in his causes, but as I have been directed by my lo. treasurer and y^e lo^p, or by the deputy hear, and if for my service and dealing according her maties pleasure, signified from you, my thanks shalbe to be putt to execute treachery, my fortune is very bad, and the service much fitter for such as devised the same, then for me that never had, thank God, a thought of any such matter, but my life shalbe as readie to be ventured agaynst him as any mans. howsoever [. . .] ble true service I am not soe well

your good fortune, to be in hand, when without any feare you may be converted to the Catholique Religion, detestinge that dampnable faith,

dealt with there [. . .] deserved of som but such is the could friendship of the worlde. I [. . .] serve when I am called on by the lo: deputy at my owne chardges as now [. . .] of these trytors feogh M^c Hugh & Walter Reogh [. . .] company of horsemen wth 200 footmen hear at my owne chardge wth out pay or any allowance from the Queene & this morning I sent some of my footmen and some souldiers towards Walter reogh where he was fortifying in Shilleoly from wth place they forced him to fly & in pursuit of him my men slew his brother Gerald, wth some other of the most notorious treytors of his company, & himself escaped very narrowly. this was don in fayr play, and more shalbe yf I may. I protest before God the very persons that enformed that I might by treachery deliver thearle were but Machavile knaves, for that they knew the contrary, that therle will not com in wth out Pardon or Protection [. . .] or out of England. God I doubt not will deliver [him from] their wicked practices. I will stay my pen from troubling yō farther wth this my greife, & will wish as much happiness [to thearle] as any earle had.

"from Hackodstoune the 20th of February [. . .]."

"Y^r lo: most loving

"brother, and fast assured [. . .],

"THOMAS ORMOND & OSS.

"Y^r lo: letter of the 24th of December I received the 9th of this moneth heer, in the field from my lo: Deputy, and do find thereby yō^r honorable care of me w^{ch} wth all true love (or action if occasion serve) shalbe requited to you to my uttermost power."

In the State Paper Office is preserved a letter from Ormonde, dated the 10th September, 1583, in which he represents to Lord Burghley the great disgrace which would accrue to the Queen's Government, if certain protections given to various persons during Desmond's rebellion, on the faith of which they had done good service to the Crown, should be violated, as was proposed to him by the English Government. The letter is too long to be given here. It was written by Ormonde's secretary; but when the indignant nobleman was signing his name to the despatch, he added the following postscript with his own hand:—

"The claws of the Queenes letter of the 3. of July, whear in she willett the persons

protected tobe kept in suer hold, semeth veray strange unto me, they having afore according her maiesties instructions, delivered pledges, don good sarvice, and put in assurance for their loyatie. *My L. I wol never use trechery to aney, for hit wol both toche her highness honor to moch, and myne owne creadit, and who so ever gave the Queene advise thus to wryte, is fitter to execute such base sarvice than I am. Saving my duetye to her maiestie, I wold I weare to have revenge by my sword of any man that thus perswadeth the Queene to wryte to me.*"

These noble sentiments do infinite credit to the Earl of Ormonde; and happy had it been for Ireland, if such honourable principles guided the conduct of the greater number of the Queen's advisers, and of her Irish Executive. Well might Ormonde exclaim, as he did in the body of the letter to which the above is a postscript—"If those men there that mislike of my protecting or seeking pardons did consider how many chefe leaders among the rebels, of Desmonds blod, and others of good accompt were slayne, since I came to my chardg, and howe fewe are left alyve, they wold not think dishonour to the Quenes highness, after so moch blood shed, and so great execucōns, now to incline to mercy." Burghley must have winced under the cutting sarcasm of the Queen's "black husband," when he added, with fearless honesty:—"But as trothe may be blamed and cannot be shamed, so tyme will detect these bad devisers, and my dealinge shalbe found true and iust, tending more to the advancement of Her Maiesties service, then the fantastickall devises of my smale friends."

Subjoined is a specimen of the temptations to which the honour and honesty of the Earl of Ormonde were subjected by the Queen's "devisers." It is preserved in the State Paper Office, and is portion of a letter dated March 18, 1583-4, from Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Walsingham. Ormonde was at this time Lord General of the Irish army, and engaged in prosecuting the war against the rebel Earl of Desmond:—

"FENTON to WALSHINGHAM.

"1583, MARCH 18.—I was bold at my be- ing with the Lord General to remember him that in a war of this nature, practice and subornacion is as necessary and Material as force, and therefore as I knew there were in

which hether unto, you have professed, or rather secte: Requesting you to accept of imprisonment as punishment due to your offences in times past committed, and to leave of your delayes of conversion to him, whoe shall infernally punishe the obstinacy of such as doe not accept of his proffered grace. As for any favor I can do your Honour, you shalbe most assured, though this longe time undeserved. I commit your Honour to Goddes protection, whom I pray God to convert you to the appostholique faith, and to keepe you safely in that place, Least libertie should worke our servitude, former liffe the death of many poore innocentes, as well, men as women and children and els &c.

“Dunganen 9^o May¹ 1600.

O NEILL.

[Indorsed.] “Tyrons letters to the E. of Ormond.”

“FENTON to CECYLL.

(*Postscript of Letter from Dublin, May 20, 1600.*)

“There is nothinge to be advertised touching therle of Ormond, till Cantwells return from Tyrone, who beinge a follower of therles was lately sent thether by Owny M^cRory with therles consent to negotiate the conditions for his enlardgement: but your Honour shall finde, that yf he be delivered, yt is the faction, and scisme amongst the preests that must do yt, or els therle must dissemble a profound sicknes.

[Indorsed.] “R. at Grenewich the 25^m.”

“ARCHBISHOP MAGRATH to CECYLL.

(*Extract.*)

“RIGHT HONORABLE—Sence I wrote the laste letter unto you from Waterforde of which I receaved no answer asyet I had not such oportuntie or Causes to writ as now I have. And first in generell your

Sr George Carew. Monster.

Honour shall understande that at the first Comynge of 2049 to 267 the whole province was so greatlie altered aswell by the sooden change hap-

Lo: of Ormond

Tyrone,

net to 1025 as by the relikes that 100 lefte theire, that be maney it was

all places where Desmond had his haunt many poore and needy Gentlemen, who either by themselves or their instruments could and would for money draw some assured draught upon him either to the taking of his head or to deliver him prisoner to his Lordship, so if his Lordship could shorten the war by that means, without dwelling upon the changeable and uncertain end of arms, I told him I thought it would be holden for right good service. I think if this point were eftsones remembered to his Lordship from thence, It would be to good purpose, not doubting but there will be found some who will undertake that service

for the hire of a thousand pounds, with some further small gratification of Desmond's lands, which in mine opinion were well and happily expended, if by that way the train of Her Majesty's further expenses in so languishing a war might be cut off.”

I have to thank my friend Mr. Daniel Mac Carthy for this transcript, as well as for the copy of the letter of the previous 10th of September, from which my space only allowed me to give two short extracts, and the postscript, of which latter a portion has already been printed by Carte, “Life of Ormonde,” vol. i., Introduction, p. lxxv.

¹ April 29, the English style.

thought impossible for any to qualifie the distemper therof, without long tyme, greate cheange, trouble and danger, yet God be thanketh the matter was so well and weslie handled that as well the Enemice and the dissimbling subjects hath bene deceived in their hope, and frustrated asyet in their expectation, so the trew subjects were comforted and relived verie much in a shorte tyme, that after levinge good order for repressinge and banissinge the Enemice frome anoinge the subjects, as they were wounte in the harte and borders adyonyng to civill places, a generall yorney towards the acustomed places of Abidinge of the ^{Rebells} 2055 was taken and is now followed in ^{Monster} 267 in such asorte after, that maney of the ^{Traitors} 2061 Cheffetayns had frelly offered their submission the rest hade fleade to High montaynes like woods and dipe boges, so that from the first day of this journey to the present, good successe was hade and so still with Gods assistance are we licke to have. And so humbly takinge leave.—Your Honours alwaies assured,
 “Kilmalock the 24 of May 1600.

1070
 “GEORGE SMYTH.

[Superscribed.]—“To the Right honorable Sir Robert Cissell knight.

[Indorsed.]—“Archbishop of Cashill to my Master. receaved the 25 June.”

[The deciphers over the numerals are in the hand of Cecyll's clerk; the “George Smyth” is in a different hand from all the rest. The number 1070 is in Myler Magrath's own hand, and is his ordinary cipher.]

“O'NEILL to THE COUNTESS OF ORMONDE.

“MADAM,—I have written to your Ladshippe before, for want of oportunitie, in myne owne natural language, which I thinke you did not so well understand, as you might conceave my full meaninge; therefore I thought necessarie by his letter to give you to understand that I am not unmyndfull of such good turnes as I receaved at my Lords hands, especiallie his Honour beinge in extremitie, I cannot, for avoidinge ingratitude, but requite his honorable courtesies shewed me longe heretofore, albeit his severitie against such as held with me was so extraordinarie, as yt was sufficient to blott the memorie of eny favours whatsoever heretofore don: I have written to Owney M'Rorie requesting him to take sufficient pledges for my Lord and then to enlardg his Honor condicionallie that he hensforward upon his booke oath, and upon paine of executinge his pledges, and all to him belonging shall abstaine to do me, or anie one that is or shalbe in this action eny hinderance or hurte, and albeit it is comonlie reported that my Lord is onely pledge is my Lady mistres, yet in regard that men would thincke, that I should seeke her under colour of a pledge for my sonne, I will in noe sorte demaund her, cheslie being a thinge which might tend to my Lords great prejudice, and howsoever the world wilbe, I hope to get such a matche for my sonne as shall seme to his state convenient, and assuredlie I had rather to matche him with one farre inferior to him, then to desire eny matche, that might be to my

Lord or to your Ladyship hurtfull, so I have written that in noe sorte the yonge Lady shold be demaunded, leaving in their owne election to choose other good pledges for my Lord's inlargment I end assuring you that I am ready to take the best course I can for his honorable libertie. Neere the Newry, the vth of June¹ requesting your Ladyship to do my hartie commendations to my Lady Mistres.

"P.S. I receaved by sondrie letters from Owny and others that my Lord was without eny kind of trecherie or word given taken, and if the contrarie happened, your Ladyship may be assured that I will never favor Owny unless without eny kind of thinge he will imediatlie inlargde his Honour, and although by his release all Ireland were destroyed, yet if treacherously he was taken, I will procure his inlargment according the uttermost of my power, for while ever I live, I will never maintaine an act soe dishonorable.

"O'NEILL."

"O'NEILL to ORMONDE.

"Pax Christi.

"MY LORD,—Noe alteration of your estate shalbe sufficient to alter my good will towards you, neither extremitie whatsoever shall cause me forget what favorable turnes you shewed me long heretofore, albeit your extraordinarie severitie used against such as held with me might be sufficient to dischargde me from requitinge your courtesies, and thoe that course you held in the dischargde of your duetie, as you tearme it, and of the trust reposed in you, yet such excesse hath ben in execution used and rigor showed, as by duetie no man thereunto was bound. I have written to Ownye requesting him to take pledges for your honor, such as shall seme sufficient, onelie my ladie Mistres excepted, for in noe sorte would I have that she should be demaunded, for by demaunding her, men would saie that I shold have her for my sonne, which to avoyde and your Honours hinderance which thereby might ensue, I will write earnestlie to Owny to choose others. From my Campe neere the Nevery the vjth of June² 1600.

"P.S. I request your Honour in any case to procure the libertie of a boye who is prisoner in Knockfergus, he is but yonge, and no greate pledge, for he is sone to Shane M'Briene, this is all the Ransome that I seeke for your Honours libertie.

"O'NEILLE.

"To the right honorable the Earle of Ormond."

"THE IRISH COUNCIL to THE LORDS OF THE ENGLISH COUNCIL.

(*Extract.*)

"Therle of Ormond remayneth still at O'Dempsies howse, guarded by Owny M'Rory and his men, as he was, yet wee heare this day, of a flyinge rumour, that he shold be sett at libertie upon pledges, but wee dare not advertise it to your Lordships, otherwaies then a bruite, which

¹ This date answers to the 26th of May, English style.

² Answering to the 27th of May, English style.

hath no certaine grounde, onely wee know assuredly, that O'Dempsie himself is apparauntly declared against Her Majestie, and so are many other of the Irishry which seemed hetherto to stand firme: And so for this tyme wee most humbly take leave. At Dublin xxvij^o May 1600.

"Your Lordships' &c. most humbly at
comaundement,

"Ad. Dublin C.

"ROBT. NAPPER.

"ANTH. SENTLEGER.

"GEORGE CARY.

"HENRY HARINGETON.

"Geff. FENTON.

"RO. GARDENER.

[Superscribed.]—"To the Right honorable the Lords and others of Her Majesty's most honorable Privie Counsell at Court.

[Indorsed.]—"Counsaille of Ireland to the Lords."

"ORMONDE to QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"MOSTE GRATIOUS AND DREAD SOVERAINE,—It may please your sacred Majestie to be advertised, that hit pleased God, of his goodnes, to deliver me, though weake and sick, from the most malicious, arrogant, and vile traitor of the world, Owny M^e Rorye, forced to put into his handes certaine hostadgs for payment of £3000, yf at any tyme hereafter I shall seeke reveng against him, or his, which manner of agreement, although it be very hard, could not be obtayned, before he sawe me in that extremity, and weaknes, as I was like, very shortly, to have ended my life in his hands, the matter alsoe being much furthered by an universall report, procured by my self, my wife, and other my frends of your Highnes resolution without delay to send into this Province of Leinster exceding great forces of English, as well to Citties and borrough townes, as to every where els, which wrought such alteration, to my benefitt, in the Irishry of Leinster as some of them offred, rather than I should still remayne prisoner, to draw such mischeif upon them, to deliver some hostadgs from themselves to that insolent base traitor, or hit being denied, to become his utter enemyes.

"Among other my miseries, Most gracious Sovereigne, I was often and earnestly moved by those damned wretches, through persuation of their preistes and others, to joyne with the Archtraitor in his most unnaturall treasons, and for assurance therof to deliver my daughter into their handes, wherunto I wold never consent though I died a thousand deathes, albeit they have often with greate vehemency sworne, yf I had not so done, they would violently end my life or presently send me prisoner into Spaine. But for any motion of marriadg of my daughter to any of that base traitor Tyrons brood, upon my duty of allegiance to your Highnes, I never thought of any like matter, neither was it demaunded of me.

"During my remayne among the traitors, I found a meane to come by a letter, sent by a frere in Ulster lately come out of Spaine, with the supposed Archbushop of Dublin arrived in Ulster, which being, in my opinion, a letter of great consequens, importing an extent of Spanish forces, to be sent this next August to this realme, and other matters of moment, I do send herewith to your most Excellent Majestie together with the copy of a paper brought unto me the very instant I was to depart from

the traitors, to take an oath according the contents therof, and after to subscribe the same; otherwise my selfe and my hostadgs to be staid, all which by Gods providence I avoyded, the traitors purpose being, if I had signed the same, to show it to such as they thought woulde be the soner drawn to joyne with them in their traitorous actions. The want of a secretary of their owne and the absence of Archer the Jhesuith and such others of them as understood the English tonge enforced the traitors to committ the writing of that bill to one that wished better unto me, then unto them as by the stile therof may appere.

"Nowe I may not forgett upon the knees of my hart to yelde unto your most Excellent Majestie all humble thanks for your Highnes most gracious and comfortable letters sent to my wife in the tyme of my myserable captivity, and also on my behalf to your Majesties Lord Deputye here for which and all other your Highnes rare and princely favors, I can yelde no more then that your Majestie hath ever possessd, being your old servant Lucas' his faithfull hart and true service, which shall contynue untill the hast howre of his life, praying Almighty God to bless your Majestie with a long and most prosperous raigne to the comfort of me and all other your faithfull subjects, and to the overthrow of all your forraine enemyes and unnaturall traitors, From my House at Kykeny this 16 of June 1600.

"Your Majesties most faithfull and obedient subject and
servant, hasta la morte

"THOMAS ORMOND & OSSORY.

[Superscribed] "To the Queenes most Excellent Majestye."²

(*Inclosure.*)

"Be it knowne to all men by these presents that I Thomas Erle of Ormond, being Captive in the hands of Owne Mac Rory, and being not to be redeemed otherwise, am compellid to be sworne to take parte with the said Owney in his rebellious actions. Morgan Mac Bryene and Redmund Mac Fieghe to wyn my libertie hath promesid to joyne with me to do the same. Witnes our hands the xijth of June 1900 [*sic.* for 1600.]"

"ORMONDE to THE LORDS OF THE ENGLISH COUNCIL.

"May it please your most honourable good Lordships to understand that (God be thanked) delivered I am nowe, (thoughe with great diffcultie) from the hands of that most wicked and barbarous traitor Owney

¹ *Sic.* Ormond frequently went by the name of "Lucas;" he was in childhood a companion and great favourite of "that holy young Solomon," her Majesty's brother, King Edward VI., and it is possible Lucas may have been a character in some sacred play acted by the royal children and their friends.

² Sealed with a seal, having round it the garter, and the words, "Honi soit qui mal y

pense." The seal bears on a shield quarterly, 1st, a chief indented; 2nd, three covered cups; 3rd, a lion rampant, in chief a swan between two annulets; 4th, ermine a cross engrailed.

On the draft of the answer to this the Queen wrote in her own hand, "Your lovinge Sovereaine who wished you better advised than to witsafe"—and crossed it out again.

M^r Rory, forced (in thend) to deliver unto him certaine hostages for paiement of £3000 if I shall hereafter seeke revendge for the trecherous injuries I receaved by him. So longe I was held in dures by perswasion of the most odious traitor Archer the Jhesuit, and others, as I was like to have ended my life in their wicked hands, the likelihode whereof was a chefe motive of my spedier enlardgment together with certaine reports procured by my self, my wife, and other my frends, of Her Majesty's resolution presently to send into this Province of Leinster as well to citties and boroughe Townes, as unto many other places veray great forces of Englishe soildours, to remaine still, and serve there: And that rumour comynge out of many partes of the Realme, was taken amonge the traitors to be true, which brede such alteration in most of the Irishry, of that Province, as some of themselves became earnest dealers for my enlardment, without any demaund of myne, puttinge in hostages of their owne for my libertie, and grewe to such termes with the insolent Traitour Owney, as they protested, and swore to be at open defiance with him if I had not ben speedily, upon some agrement or other, delivered.

"Duringe my abode amonge those traitors I came by a letter sent to the traitor Richard Butler¹ sone in lawe to Tirone, importinge some matters of weight, the copie whereof I do send herewith to your good Lordships to gether with two letters from Tirone thone to my self and thother to my wife,² and in both mention made of a mariadge which, I avowe to God, I never herd nor thought of before,

"I doubt not but your Lordships are advertised of the dangerous stat of this Province of Leinster, a great parte of the Englishe pale, and the counties of Kilkenny, and Wexford beinge lately burned, and spoiled by the traitors Richard Butler and Edward Butler sonnes to my Lord of Mountgarret, Owney Mac Rory, Donell Spaynaghe, the Moores, Connors, Kavanaghes, and divers others, which put the traitors in such insolencye and pride, knowinge the weaknes of Her Majesty's forces heare, and their owne companies daily incresinge, and moche the more enriched and furnished by theis late spoiles as, in my opinion under your Lordships reformation, it is most necessarie to send some forces presentlie to suppress them. I understode, duringe my imprisonment, and likewise receaved the same in great secresye from Archer the Jhesuit, that Spanyshe forces are expected to arive heare in Ireland this next August, and that Lymbricke, and other corporations in those parts are assured unto them. Howe true this is I cannot say, yett have I thought hit my dutie to acquainte your Lordships therewith.

"Beinge in pointe of my delivery from the traitor Owney, and ready to take horse the xijth. of this month, a paper was brought unto me from him to take an oathe accordinge the contents thereof and after to subscribe to the same, otherwise I, and my hostages to be staied, all which, (throughe Gods Providence) I avoided, the copie of which paper I do send your Lordships herewith.

"The traitor wanted at that tyme Archer the Jhesuit, and such others of there company as understod thenglish tongue, which enforced them to

¹ Son to Mountgarret, and in rebellion.

² These letters have been already given.

commytt the writinge of that bill to one that wished better to me then unto them, as by the stile thereof maie appeare. And soe for this tyme leauinge farther to trouble your good Lordships, wishinge to you all happynes I committ you to God's most blessed guidinge. From Kilkeny the xvjth. of June 1600.

"Your good Lordships most humbly to commande

"THOMAS ORMOND & OSSORY.

[Superscribed] "To the Right Honorable and my very good Lords the Lords of Her Majesty's most Honorable Pryvie Councell.

"in all hast, hast, hast.

[Indorsed] "The E. of Ormond to the Lords. His delivery out of the Rebells hands. Letters from Tyrone to his Lordship and my Lady.

"A letter from Fryer Marob. Spanyshe forces lyke to arryve about August. Some corporations to be dystrusted. Received at Grenewich the xxxth."

"MAROB to BUTLER. (*Inclosure in the above.*)

"My duetie remembred with commendations unto you verie good Lord, for our longe acquaintaince in Kilkeny beinge schole fellowes together with M^r. Michell Sheeth, I crave pardon for my boldnes, and that your Honnour maie not be ignorant of me, I am called Nicholas Marob whom your Honour knew in the Irishe Towne of Kilkeny: a little after your Honour departed your studdy I went to Spayne and was there since, but as God would, here I was sent by the Archbushop of Dublin a frier of St. Fraunces is order, for whose companion I came in this Jorney. I am my self also a frier of the said order all theis foure yeres in a maner. The Kinge of Spaine sent in our company two shippes of munitions to my Lord O'Neile and O'Donell in the which shippes came a thousand gonnes with their flasks and moules, a thousand quintals of lead, and a thowsand quintals of matche with so much more of powder, this was sent as a furtherance to these Catholicke Princes, and about August next the Kinge of Spaine gave his worde to send hither an army of eight thowsand men with a great store of mony and provision: in the meane, lett your Honour be of good comfort and feight for the Catholicke faithe manfully as you have don hetherto. The Kinge of Spaine sent also to my Lord O'Neile a chaine of gould with his owne armes and a flagge, the generall of Spaine sent him a murrion and a targett, the Kinge also sent to my Lord O'Donell a chaine of gould, and unto both these princes sent letters of commendations, yf I can possibly I will see your owne person shortlie. I am a priest all this year. M^{rs}. Mary O'Neile hath her commendations to your Honour, and to my Lady Margarett her sister your Honour's bedfellowe, and so have I thowsand commendations to your Honour whom God increase and prosper in His holy service. Your Honour shall do me a great pleasure in advertisinge me of your Honours good health by the next messenger,

to father Archer my commendations. From Dungannon in Ulster the xxviiith. of May [18th May, English style] 1600.

“Your Honor’s Orator and Chaplyne to commaund during life

“FRIER NICHOLAS MAROB

“To my verie good Lord M^r. Richard Butler sonne in lawe to the Prince of Ulster, my Lord O’Neile, this give with trust wheresoever he be.”

“MOUNTJOY to CECYLL. (*Extract.*)

“I made no great hast to wryght unto you about the Earle off Ormonds inlargment becawse with the first letters I receaved theroff I understode they had the first nyght off his cominge to Kilkenny dispatched letters into Englande, he is weake butt desyrus to speake with mee, and I muche more with him, att the first to sownde the bottom off the conditions off his deliverye, and sett som present course to unintankle him iff itt may bee; I am thearfore this day goinge towards him as far as Carlow whear I looke to meet him; and after I will sende you a shrewde guess off whatt you may looke for from him; uppon my retourne I will wryght unto you off all thinges. I thinke fitt you should understande from hence; and beeinge now redde to take horse towards the Earle off Ormonde I desyre your pardon and wische you all happines. From Dublinge this 19 June 1600.—“Yours Sir most assuredlie

“MOUNTJOYE.

[Superscribed] “To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecyll, Knight.

[Indorsed] “Lord Deputy to my master. Received the 28.”

“STAFFORD to CECYLL. (*Extract.*)

“Your Honor shall nowe understande thatt the 13th of June the Erle of Ormonde was sett att lybertye and cam unto Kylkennye. There ys xij. pledges lefte with Onye M^r Rorye for the performaunce of all covenantes betweene them. The Erle sythens hys lybertye hath wrytten unto my Lorde Deputye and beyng by hys ymprysonmentte weake and nott able to ryde ys verye desyrus uppon secrett occasions to confer with my Lorde, and my Lorde Deputye purposethe to satysfye hys desyer and determynethe to take hys yorneye towards my Lorde of Ormwoode the 18th of June. I doe yudge thatt the place of meatynge shalbee att Caterlaghe or Leughelane. . . . Dublyn the 20th of June 1600.

“Your Honors vowed follower and most dutifull att commaunde

“FR. STAFFORDE.

[Superscribed] “To . . . S^r Robert Cecyll knight.

[Indorsed] “20 June 1600 Sir Francis Stafford to my master. Erle of Ormond delivered.”

“MOUNTJOY to CECYLL. (*Extract.*)

“SIR,—Att my beeing att Killkenney, the Earle off Ormonde did acquaynte mee with his letters to Her Majestye and my Lords off the Counsell; above the effects whearoff I gathered by him thatt thear wear

few things lykely by thos villaynes to be urged uppon him duringe his imprisonment, but unto them hee seemed to yeelde unto: and thearfore itt is nott now to bee concydered whatt he hathe promised, butt whatt he dothe meane, or willbe inforced to performe; iff I bee nott muche deceaved, as in this case I may bee, the Earle dothe continue with as great affection as ever to Her Majesty and with muche more spleen agaynst the rebell, butt the tye uppon him to the contrarye are the pledges he hathe putt in; whom no doubt the traytors will retayne upon thear owne conditions whatsoever his weare; I do not thinke he will deliver his dawter although I beleeve he hathe promised to do itt; and iff by cominge off some force from Spayne thear do nott insue a generall revolthe, I am verry confidente thatt his pledges willbe delivered or gotten away without any great impediment to the servis ether growinge by the Erles takynge or thear delivinge [*sic*] for his redeeminge: the pledges wear sent for and delivered without my privitey, whearunto I have hetherto nether declared any mislyke or geven any approbation; and I thinke itt fitt by the continuance off the Queens gracious usadge ether to free him from all mannor off jelozye thatt hee should be helde in suspicion, or ellse to take some course onn the suddayne to be assured off him; which when you shall thinke fitt to be doonn I presume may be easely performed; although the course must be souche as must be to his and his countreys ruine, which I hope you shall nott need to command becawse I hope he will make good demonstration off his loyalltye; and indeede Sir I can nott butt beare a kynde off reverence to so antient a servant to Her Majestye and a compassion to the miserable fortune he was in; he tollde me thatt duringe my beeinge with him he had great hope brought him to have all his pledges delivered for money, the which iff itt might be, he sayde hee would speedely performe; iff they be nott delivered the sonner, itt shallbe harde butt I will putt the Earle and the fathers off the pledges in blood agaynst the rebels, and that will soone marr all contracts between them; I have many plotts uppon Ony M^c Rurye to take him; and I thinke itt is a thinge thatt the Earle dothe verry muche practize and will go verry neere to performe. . . .

“Yours Sir to do you servis

“4th July 1600.”

“MOUNTJOYE

These tardy admissions amply refute Mountjoy's former unworthy insinuations, and afford a triumphant answer to the suspicions entertained by the generally impartial Leland (“History of Ireland,” vol. ii., p. 374). In the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, is preserved the Queen's pardon, passed to the Earl of Ormonde under the great seal, for treating with the Rebels in the matter of his release.